ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

Epiſtolary Correſpondence

OF AN

AGENT of the King of PERSIA,

RESIDING AT

ATHENS during the Peloponneſian War.

CONTAINING

The HISTORY of the Times, in Diſpatches to the Miniſters of State at the Perſian Court.

BESIDES

LETTERS on various Subjects between Him and His Friends.

VOL. I.

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THE

PREFACE.

AS the following collection of letters has been thought worthy the attention of the learned by ſome judicious perſons, to whom they were communicated, the Tranſlator humbly preſumes, they will prove an acceptable entertainment to the public; at the ſame time he will be bold to ſay, they want no introduction to recommend them. However, as the world will naturally enquire into the circumſtances, to which it is indebted for thoſe valuable remains of antiquity, he thinks it neceſſary to premiſe a general account of the accident, which brought them to his hands. This account he conceives will not only be grateful to the curioſity of the reader, but be attended with a further good conſequence to himſelf, as it will ſufficiently protect him from the cavils of cenſorious critics, and vindicate him from every unjuſt imputation.

It has long been a ſubject of complaint to modern literati, that the library at Fez in the king of Morocco's dominions, where the greateſt treaſures of oriental learning are ſuppoſed to lie, was never yet examined with any tolerable care or diligence. The difficulty of acceſs to it is the reaſon why nothing certain can be known concerning it; but ſeveral have imagined, that were it thoroughly ſearched, the Arabian verſions of the Greek and Latin authors would in all probability ſee the light. A learned Jew, who dwelt in that city for many years, and who by ſome means or other had worked himſelf into the favour of the Alcaide, or chief magiſtrate of the place, ſpent much of his leiſure hours in peruſing the volumes, that are lodged there. Upon his deceaſe in the year 1688, he left his papers to an Engliſh conſul at Tunis, from whom he had received obligations in his life time. The conſul upon turning them over, amongſt others, found a fair Spaniſh manuſcript intitled, "Letters from an agent of the "king of Perſia, reſiding at Athens during

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" ing the Peloponneſian war, to the mi-
" niſters of ſtate, *&c.* tranſlated by Mo-
" SES BEN MESHOBAB, from a manu-
" ſcript in the old Perſic language, pre-
" ſerved in the library at Fez." Surprized at what he ſaw, he wrote immediately to two or three friends in England, and informed them of the important diſcovery. It appears, that he had then an intention to publiſh them, but being afterwards called off by different purſuits, they lay neglected to his death. By the will of the gentleman, the manuſcript was left as a legacy to the Engliſh tranſlator, who thought it would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice, to withhold them any longer from the public view. He chuſes indeed to conceal his name, which he hopes the candid reader will forgive, ſince it is not done with a deſign of impoſing more ſafely upon the world, but in order to decline with honour the diſagreeable wranglings of controverſy.

The agent concerned in theſe letters appears to have been ſingularly fitted for his employment. As his mind was enlarged by a general converſation with

men and books, his parts and knowledge furniſhed him with every qualification, required even by the moſt modern writers on the ſubject of foreign negotiations. A circumſtance the more extraordinary in CLEANDER, as he lived at a time, when the balance of power was unequally divided in the world, and the ſcience of embaſſy and treaty was not yet reduced into that regular and perfect ſyſtem, to which it has been carried by the wiſdom of later and more improved ages. For the ſimplicity of the ancients in all their conteſts with their neighbours led them into the ſtrange abſurdity of ſettling ambiguities, inſtead of leaving them; and it was the conſtant rule of their policy not to play with the rights of nations, but to ſtate and to clear them.

During the reſidence of our agent in the city of Athens, he ſeems to have been extremely curious in examining the conſtitution of Greece; and while he writes to the miniſters on matters of political and public buſineſs, he does not fail to tranſmit faithful accounts to his friends of the learning prevailing in the country, and little

private

private anecdotes relating to himſelf. Far from dealing in trivial and low occurrences, his letters are full of the moſt important information. We never find him preſſing for any increaſe of his remittances, but contented with his firſt appointments. It is agreeable enough to obſerve him upon ſome occaſions deviating from the dull road of his inſtructions, and acting with that freedom and latitude of judgment, which a wiſe man ſhould be indulged in exerciſing, and with that air of authority and underſtanding, which naturally creates eſteem. He makes uſe of the acceſs, which he gained to the conſiderable men of Athens by a peculiar dexterity in his converſation, to the ſervice of his maſter, and the intereſt of Perſia; and though he now and then breaks out into ſtrong and rapturous expreſſions on liberty, he cannot lay aſide a zealous regard for the one, or a firm attachment to the other. In a word, he is a pattern of addreſs in negotiation; and I doubt not but if WICQUEFORT had been acquainted with his character, he had numbered CLEANDER among

the moſt eminent maſters of that art, and recommended his letters in the ſame page with cardinal D' OSSAT's.

Beſides theſe ſentiments, which evidently flow from a peruſal of the papers now offered to the public, a ſecret pleaſure will ariſe in the breaſt of every man of taſte and knowledge, when he conſiders how much they tend to corroborate the teſtimony of THUCYDIDES, to heighten our idea of his impartiality, and to wipe off the unjuſt aſperſions, that have been thrown upon his memory by JOSEPHUS. At the ſame time we may entertain a more adequate notion of the cuſtoms of the Greeks and Perſians from theſe letters of our agents, in which the living manners are expreſſed, than we can poſſibly entertain from the moſt formal and elaborate treatiſes of grave antiquaries. Not to mention ſeveral curious particulars of court ſubtilty and intrigue interwoven in the courſe of them, which may ſeem perhaps beneath the notice of an hiſtorian, but which yet have a wonderful effect in unravelling the ſecret ſprings and true cauſes of action.

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As to the objections, which have been framed with peculiar ſucceſs to the genuineneſs of the epiſtles of PHALARIS and THEMISTOCLES by a formidable champion in the republic of letters; ſuch objections as are drawn from the uncertain time, in which the great men, who are ſpoken of in them, are ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed, and from the matter of the epiſtles themſelves; we conceive, that no ſuch can lie againſt the collection before us. ATOSSA, who was the firſt inventreſs of letter-writing in the opinion of our critic, had been ſeveral years dead, before CLEANDER made his appearance on the theatre of human affairs; and after her death ſhe could no longer monopolize the uſe of it. It is therefore apprehended with an honeſt confidence, that we have little to fear either from the extenſive learning or penetration of that critic.

To conclude, the Tranſlator begs leave to congratulate the literary world on the diſcovery of this hidden treaſure of antiquity, which may be conſidered as a

large acceſſion to the wealth it already ſtands poſſeſſed of; and to congratulate himſelf on his own being the unworthy inſtrument, after an interval of ſo many ages, of preſenting theſe ineſtimable relics to the public.

C.

CONTENTS

OF THE

LETTERS.

1ſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER I.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe, to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

HIS arrival at Athens, and admiſſion amongſt the μέτοικοι or ſtrangers reſiding there. The preparations for war. The ſurprize of Platæa by the Thebans. The ſentiments of the people concerning the cauſes of the rupture. Page 1.

LETTER II.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS his brother, a merchant at Epheſus.

A deſcription of the port Piræeus. Some reflections on trade and the Athenian greatneſs. Page 5.

LETTER III.

CLEANDER to ARTAPHERNES, governor of Sardis.

The war declared. A liſt of the land and naval forces of Athens. The Peloponneſian army in full march for Attica. The inhabitants of the country removed into the city. Reaſons for that meaſure, and the inconveniencies of it. Page 7.

LET-

CONTENTS.

LETTER IV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the ſeven counſellors of ſtate to the king of Perſia, and general of his army.

The ſecret cauſes of the war explained at large, and the character and conduct of PERICLES *diſcuſſed.* Page 9.

LETTER V.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES firſt chamberlain to the king of Perſia.

The different manners of Greece and Aſia deſcribed. Page 12.

LETTER VI.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

CLEANDER's *diligence and behaviour approv'd by the Perſian council. Remarks on the advantages like to acrue to Perſia by the Grecian diviſions. Ordered to join in diſtreſſing the meaſures of* PERICLES. Page 15.

LETTER VII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

The marriage of ARASPES *and* ARAMINTA *at the court of Ecbatana. The character of* ORSAMES *a young nobleman, who is juſt ſetting out upon his travels.* Page 17.

LETTER VIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Invaſion of Attica by the Peloponneſians. The Athenians by the advice of PERICLES *keep within their walls. The murmurs of the oppoſite party at this conduct. A fleet ſent out to ravage the enemies coaſts.* Page 21.

LET-

CONTENTS.

LETTER IX.

HIPPIAS to his brother CLEANDER.

Accounts of the hindrance to trade in the Perſian dominions, and of a journey to Ecbatana. Page 25.

LETTER X.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Deſcription of Babylon. Intention to paſs through Arabia in his way to Ægypt. Page 29.

LETTER XI.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

A ſurvey of the city of Athens. Some of its magnificent ſtructures deſcribed. Page 32.

LETTER XII.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

The Athenian cuſtom of making a ſolemn funeral for thoſe, that died in battle. The ſolemnity deſcribed, and its uſe commended. Page 36.

LETTER XIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

On the Athenian conſtitution. Page 41.

LETTER XIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

He expreſſes the ſatisfaction he receives from his diſpatches. Sends him a mark of the king's bounty. Informs him of the reſolutions

CONTENTS.

ſolutions of the Perſian council with regard to Grecian affairs, and of an embaſſy from the Peloponneſian allies to the court of Perſia. Page 46.

LETTER XV.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Account of a magnificent ſacrifice and entertainment at Suſa. Page 49.

2d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Obeys the king's orders in retiring to Salamis during the plague. Account of that fatal calamity, and the miſerable ſtate of Athens. Invaſion of the Peloponneſian army. Page 53.

LETTER XVII.

SMERDIS the Magi to CLEANDER.

Tranquillity of his Bactrian ſolitude. Concern for the ſafety of CLEANDER. *Increaſe of luxury in Greece.* Page 58.

LETTER XVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Compliments him upon his riſing character. Lays before him the general ſtate of Greece and Ægypt. Page 62.

LETTER XIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Deſcription of his retreat in Salamis. Characters of ſeveral of the Greek poets. Page 66.

LET-

CONTENTS.

LETTER XX.
CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Commiſerates the deplorable ſtate of Athens. Enquires into the origin of the evil principle ARIMANIUS, *and the reaſon of his being permitted to afflict mankind. The arrival of* HIPPOCRATES *the phyſician.* Page 75.

LETTER XXI.
ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Deſcribes his journey through Arabia Fælix. Page 80.

LETTER XXII.
CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Ill ſucceſs of PERICLES *at Epidaurus. The ſiege of Potidæa in Thrace by the Athenians. Anecdotes relating to the cauſes of the war. Plague continues. Honours beſtowed on* HIPPOCRATES. Page 80.

LETTTER XXIII.
ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER.

Gives him an account of his promotion to the government of Lydia. State of the province. Company at MEGABYZUS's *palace near Ecbatana. Court news.* Page 89.

LETTER XXIV.
MEGABYZUS to CLEANDER.

Lays before him a plan of politics for recovering the affairs of Perſia. Further information about the Peloponneſian embaſſy. Inſtructs him on that head. Aſſures him of the royal favour. Page 92.

LET-

CONTENTS.

LETTER XXV.
ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

His arrival at Thebes in Ægypt. The grandeur of that city deſcribed with the pillars of HERMES. Page 95.

LETTER XXVI.
CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

The Lacedæmonians refuſal to accept the Athenian propoſals for a peace diſcourages the people. PERICLES *endeavours to raiſe their ſpirits. They remove him from his command. But determine to continue the war. Send ſecret orders to the reſident in Thrace relating to the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors.* Page 100.

LETTER XXVII.
CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

State of philoſophy in Greece. Account of the Ionick ſect. Page 104.

LETTER XXVIII.
GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

Reflections on PERICLES's *removal. Tells him that* SITALCES *has delivered up the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors, notwithſtanding the king of Perſia's inſtances in their favour. Wiſhes that* CLEANDER *could ſave them from the fury of the Athenians.* Page 109.

LETTER XXIX.
ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Account of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics. Page 111.

LETTER XXX.
HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

The court removes to Babylon. Popular behaviour of ARTAXERXES.

CONTENTS.

ARTAXERXES. *Surprizing diſcovery of* ARTABAZUS's *daughter. Defeat of the Caduſians.* Page 114.

LETTER XXXI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Execution of the Peloponneſian embaſſadors by decree of the people. Pretences for that barbarous meaſure. Potidæa in Thrace ſurrendered to the Athenians. Page 117.

LETTER XXXII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Further remarks on the hieroglyphics. Page 120.

LETTER XXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Returns to Athens upon the ceaſing of the plague. PERICLES *reſtored. Introduced to that miniſter, and his converſation with him. Account of the peculiar manner of fitting out ſhips at Athens.* Page 122.

LETTER XXXIV.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

Further deſcription of the city. Page 126.

LETTER XXXV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Sends commentaries of ſome eminent ſtateſmen among the Greeks. Their characters briefly touched upon. Anecdote relating to THEMISTOCLES. Page 131.

3d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Meſſages between the Athenians, Platæans, and Lacedæmonians. Platæa beſieged by the latter. Defeat of the former in Thrace. Page 134.

CONTENTS.

LETTER XXXVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

Endeavours to clear up his doubts concerning the evil principle. Relates the opinions of ſome eminent magi on that head. Page 138.

LETTER XXXVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Account of the Italic ſect and PYTHAGORAS *its founder.* Page 143.

LETTER XXXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Accounts for the obſcurity and uncertainty of the hiſtory of the firſt times of Greece. Page 149.

LETTER XL.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

PERICLES's *death. The circumſtances attending it. A fine ſaying of his.* Page 154.

LETTER XLI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

A full view of PERICLES's *character and politics.* Page 157.

LETTER XLII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Deſcription of OSMANDUAS's *tomb at Thebes. Fine proſpect from* ISIS's *temple. Prepares to ſet out for Syene.* Page 164.

LETTER XLIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Short account of the earlier Greek hiſtorians. Character of HERODOTUS. Page 172.

LETTER XLIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

Reflects on the contents of ſome of his former letters. An agent arrived from Lacedæmon, whoſe conduct and inſtructions are diſapproved. Page 177.

LET-

CONTENTS.

LETTER XLV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Siege of Platæa continued. Unſucceſsful expedition of the Peloponneſians againſt Acarnania. Naval victory obtained by the Athenians under the command of PHORMIO. Page 181.

LETTER XLVI.

PHORMIO to the ſenate and people of Athens.

Particulars of the action. Preſſes for reinforcements. Page 183.

LETTER XLVII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Journey to Syene. Particular worſhip of a diſtrict in the Thebaid nome. Account of the Hermatic books. Cataracts of the Nile. Page 187.

LETTER XLVIII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Character of SOCRATES. Page 193.

LETTER XLIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Converſation with THUCYDIDES *on the diſpoſition and tempers of the Athenians. His character, and deſign for writing a hiſtory.* Page 196.

LETTER L.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Second engagement between PHORMIO *and the Corinthians. Delays in ſending him ſupplies. The party prevailing at Athens deſcribed. Character of* CLEON. Page 201.

LETTER LI.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Remarks on the military diſcipline of Perſia. Deſcription of a camp in the plains of Babylon. Page 205.

CONTENTS.

LETTER LII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

A converſation with SOCRATES *on the banks of the river Iliſſus.* Page 211.

LETTER LIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

His voyage down the Nile from Syene to Heliopolis. Deſcription of the country during the inundation. Ceremonies performed at the cutting of the banks. Phyſical reaſons aſſigned by the prieſts for the annual overflowing of the Nile. Page 216.

LETTER LIV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Attempt to ſurprize the Piræus proves ineffectual. Blockade of Platæa. Diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence between SACAS *the eunuch and* PERICLES. Page 222.

LETTER LV.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

Converſation with an Athenian on the effects of liberty to excite a national valour. Page 227.

LETTER LVI.

Converſation with the ſame on the law of oſtraciſm. Page 231.

End of the Contents of the Firſt Volume.

ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR,

The epiſtolary correſpondence of an agent of the king of Perſia, reſiding at Athens, during the Peloponneſian war.

A. M. 3573. 2 *Olymp.* 87.

The firſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER I.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I Think it my duty not to fail giving you an account of my ſafe arrival at Athens, by the firſt ſhip that ſails for Epheſus. My brother the merchant will take care to convey my letters ſafely to ARTAPHERNES, the governor of Sardis, who, I ſuppoſe, has received orders to ſend them immediately by expreſſes to court. As I am hardly ſettled in this place, and have juſt gone through the formalities, which are requiſite for all ſtrangers to comply with, who intend to ſettle here, (as being admitted by the Areopagitic council, enter'd in a public regiſter, and chooſing a patron,) I can only pretend to give ſuch accounts of the preſent

ſtate of affairs, as are founded on the common reports of the city. The Perſian council muſt already have been informed, that all things have long carried the appearance of a war between Athens and Lacedæmon, upon pretence of injuries done by the former, to the allies of the latter. I ſhall lay before thee a ſhort view of the riſe of theſe differences, and the height, to which they are now arrived. The Corcyreans being engag'd in a quarrel with the Corinthians about Epidamnus, a maritime town of Macedonia, and a colony of the firſt, and unable alone to make head againſt them, ſent a deputation to deſire an alliance with Athens. Their demand was ſtrongly oppoſed by the embaſſadors of Corinth; and the people in the firſt aſſembly determin'd againſt the Corcyreans, but chang'd their opinion in the ſecond by the advice of PERICLES, and voted that a league ſhou'd be concluded with them. In purſuance of it they ſent to their aſſiſtance ten gallies, with orders that they ſhould only protect the poſſeſſions of Corcyra, without attacking the Corinthians. Theſe gallies were ſoon after engag'd in a naval fight, where both ſides laid claim to the advantage; and at the ſame time Potidæa, a tributary city of the Athenians in Thrace, revolted againſt them, under pretence that they had impoſed hard conditions upon them. Corinth, its mother-city, ſent troops to its relief againſt the Athenian army, which laid ſiege to it; and at the ſame time diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Lacedæmon in conjunction with their allies, complaining that the Athenians had broken the treaties, by aſſiſting the Corcyreans, and interdicting all commerce with the Megareans. The Lacedæmonians

hurried on by the violent advices of STHENELAIDAS, the Ephore, determin'd after a long debate, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of their king ARCHIDAMUS, that the Athenians had violated the leagues. In conſequence of this vote they demanded of them to raiſe the ſiege of Potidæa, and repeal the decree againſt Megara. This ſtate offer'd to put the difference in arbitration, but refuſed to give up their rights, without aſſerting them vigorouſly, if they were attacked. I think this ſummary neceſſary, noble ſcribe, not to inform thee, who haſt already received information of theſe events, but to give the better connection to the ſequel of my diſpatches. It is now generally agreed that an open rupture will ſhortly enſue; for advice arriv'd here laſt night from Platea, a town of Bœotia, and an ally of this ſtate, that the Thebans, who with the reſt of Peloponneſus ſide with Lacedæmon, had by treaſon gained admiſſion into the place, and kept poſſeſſion ſome little time; but the citizens taking the advantage of the night, fell upon and cut off the whole party, except 200, who where taken priſoners. The people this very day in an extraordinary aſſembly decreed, that a ſupply of troops and proviſions ſhould forthwith be ſent thither; and that meſſengers ſhould be diſpatched to all their allies, with the news of what has paſt, and orders to haſten their warlike preparations. A report is current, that the Spartans and their allies are aſſembling their forces at the Iſthmus of Corinth. I find the opinions of the people various about the true ſprings of this war. The party oppoſite to PERICLES ſcruple not to ſay, that no other reaſon can be given for it but his perſonal intereſt,

which engages him to ſet Greece in a flame, that the Athenians may be leſs at leiſure to examine his conduct, particularly with regard to the public accounts, and be obliged through the neceſſity of affairs to commit themſelves to his management. Libels and ſatyrs againſt him are diſperſed with great boldneſs, and at theatrical repreſentations he is reproached with the vileſt accuſations and the ſevereſt language to his face. All theſe inſults he bears with admirable temper. Indeed ſuch is the natural inconſtancy and impatience of the Athenians, that in caſe of any ſignal ill-ſucceſs, or inconvenience from the preſent meaſures, he will run the utmoſt hazard of loſing the power and influence he now enjoys. It is beſides alledged with good reaſon, that theſe diviſions in Greece will give great advantage to Perſia, which will never fail to encourage them by playing off one ſide againſt the other, till both are reduc'd ſo low, that our mighty monarch may take ample revenge for the battle of Salamis, and the inglorious peace with CIMON. The friends of PERICLES are not leſs induſtrious in juſtifying him; but I own were I a Grecian, I ſhould exceedingly lament theſe unhappy quarrels, of which no one can poſſibly ſee the conſequences; or rather, if they continue, the event cannot but be detrimental to the common intereſt of Greece.

Thou art happy, illuſtrious miniſter, in depending, not upon the uncertain pleaſure of a mutinous and inconſtant people, but the will of a wiſe and beneficent prince, who meaſures the counſels of his ſervants, not by their ſucceſs, but their intrinſic goodneſs; and whoſe prudent conduct, inſpired by the great OROMASDES, is

able to allay the rude clamours of faction, and ſuffers nothing to be heard through the wide empire of Perſia, but the ſtill ſmall voice of peace and unanimity.

From Athens. P.

LETTER II.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS his brother, a merchant at Epheſus.

I Have encloſed in your packet a letter to GOBRYAS, which you muſt tranſmit to the ſatrap ARTAPHERNES, and at the ſame time excuſe my not writing to him upon account of the hurry I am in at preſent, which will not permit me to think of any thing, but the neceſſary buſineſs of my employment, till I am a little ſettled. Our voyage from Epheſus was very proſperous, and my curioſity increaſed the nearer I drew to a city, which is renowned through the world for the wiſdom of its laws, the many eminent perſons it hath produced, the magnificence of its buildings, and the ſtop it has ſo often put to the utmoſt efforts of the Perſian empire; ſo that it may properly enough be ſtiled the barrier of Greece. The entrance into the harbour Piræeus ſtrikes one with aſtoniſhment; the vaſt number of ſhips, both for trade and war, which are continually lying there; the face of buſineſs, which appears in the workmen at the dock; and the crowds of merchants, and naval officers, paſſing every moment between the haven and the city, form a very grand and a very pleaſing ſpectacle to a ſtranger. One can no longer wonder, that a ſtate, where ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry and

freedom prevails, though under the diſadvantage of a craggy, unfruitful, and narrow territory, ſhou'd eclipſe monarchies of fifty times its extent, where the labour of the people waſtes its ſelf in cultivating the arts of luxury; and the higheſt ambition amongſt them is, who ſhall be the meaneſt ſlave to the ſovereign. I have made choice of your old acquaintance and hoſt PHILEMON, to be my patron; he ſeems to be a true republican, and a man of great honour and probity. His advice will be of uſe to me, with regard to my behaviour here; and his knowledge and experience will greatly aſſiſt me in my enquiries into the conſtitution and affairs of Athens. As this ſhip carries you letters from your correſpondents in this place, I ſhall add nothing of the news ſtirring here at preſent; and only recommend it to you, to take care of the ſpeedy conveyance of my diſpatches and remittances. In the midſt of that hurry of mercantile buſineſs, which renders you the greateſt merchant of the Perſian empire, and a more uſeful ſubject to your king than the wealthieſt and proudeſt ſatrap, beſtow ſome moments in thinking of your brother; who though placed in a hazardous and important ſituation, remote from his family and friends, will ever preſerve the tendereſt regards for your welfare and proſperity. Whilſt I watch over the motions of Greece, and like a ſentinel, foretel the approach of every danger to my country, do you perform a far greater ſervice to it, by exporting all thoſe coſtly vanities, and that oſtentatious magnificence, which have enervated the degenerate poſterity of CYRUS. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER

LETTER III.

CLEANDER to ARTAPHERNES the governor of Sardis.

AS my family and myſelf have been always honoured with your protection, and as you firſt recommended me to the Perſian court for this employment; there is no one, who has a better right to be informed of the ſteps I take, and the intelligence I receive. You may acquaint GOBRYAS in your next letters, that war is at laſt declared between the two famous republics, Athens and Lacedæmon. This ſtate, by the inſtigation of PERICLES, refuſed to admit a herald, who was ſent by ARCHIDAMUS, king of Sparta, to offer the laſt terms, upon which peace would be concluded. We expect every day to hear, that the army of the allies, which conſiſts of ſixty thouſand men, is in full march for the frontiers of Attica. A few days ago exact liſts of the land and naval forces of Athens were laid before an aſſembly of the people. The troops of various kinds deſigned for the land-ſervice amount to 31,800 men; but their fleet, on which they principally depend, may be eaſily compleated to 300 galleys; with part of which they intend to guard their own coaſts, and ravage their enemies; and with the reſt to raiſe contributions from their allies for the ſervice of the war.

The generality of people here were very eager in promoting ſuch meaſures, as had an immediate tendency to bring on a war; but they muſt ſoon begin to feel the inconveniencies of one. PERICLES has declared, that they will never carry it on with any proſpect of

ſucceſs, unleſs they rely entirely on their fleet; ſince their land-army is not ſtrong enough to keep the field againſt the united force of Peloponneſus. He has farther told them, that they muſt abandon and lay waſte the country about Athens, in order to deprive the enemies of ſubſiſtence, during the time of their invaſion. In conſequence of his advice, the town is filling daily with vaſt numbers out of the country, who have deſtroyed their houſes, tranſported their cattle and goods into the neighbouring iſlands, and are come to ſeek a lodging in the houſes of their friends and relations. But the greateſt part of the multitude muſt take up their quarters in the empty places of the city, and even in the temples. This removal, though complied with, is very inconvenient and diſagreeable to many families; who after having lived quietly in the country ever ſince the Perſian invaſion, and followed the innocent occupations of a rural life, are now obliged to leave their paternal ſeats and houſehold gods, and to exchange repoſe and peace, for arms, hurry, and fatigue. However this meaſure, though it appears hard, is very neceſſary; for as there is no town in Attica, except Athens, big enough to receive the inhabitants of the country, they would, if they continued there, be expoſed to the diſmal alternative of falling by the ſword of the enemy; or ſeeing their poſſeſſions ruined before their faces, and themſelves made captives. PERICLES, like a wiſe ſtateſman, deſpiſes the murmurs of his oppoſers; and well underſtanding where the true ſtrength of his country lies, is haſtening the equipment of a large ſquadron, which I hear is intended to lay waſte

Peloponneſus,

Peloponneſus, and oblige the allies, either to keep their forces at home for the defence of their coaſts, or retire out of the Athenian territories upon the firſt news of their own being invaded. Solemn ſacrifices have been offered at the ſhrines of all their gods, and particularly at that of MINERVA, the patroneſs of Athens, for protection againſt the attempts of their enemies. But thou knoweſt, noble ſatrap, that the great OROMASDES vouchſafes not his aſſiſtance to thoſe, who make the moſt coſtly oblations, but to thoſe, who addreſs him with the pureſt intentions. If this war has been undertaken in ſupport of the honour and independence of Athens, what can be a more proper ſtep than to appeal to the juſtice of providence? But if it owes its riſe to motives of ambition, not of ſafety; of intereſt, not injuries; do not they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhments, who call down the vengeance of their gods on others, whilſt themſelves are really the offenders? Ought not thoſe miſeries, to which they devote their neighbours, to fall with double weight upon their own heads? Adieu.

P.

LETTER IV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the ſeven counſellors of ſtate to the king of Perſia, and general of his army.

MY letters to the Perſian miniſters have given early and faithful accounts of the opening of the preſent war, and the ſteps, which both parties have yet

yet taken. But I know thy penetrating eye is not contented with ſurveying the outward appearances of things; thy curioſity invites thee, and thy ſagacity enables thee, to ſearch into the moſt refined ſecrets of policy, to examine the conſtitutions of different ſtates, and from the natural diſpoſitions of the people, and the tempers of their rulers, to divine their future conduct. The reſult of theſe inquiries thou applieſt to the honour of thy maſter, and the ſervice of his people. I remember, when plenipotentiaries were ſent to conclude that inglorious peace with Athens, after the victories of CIMON, thou foretoldeſt, that if we let the Greeks alone, they would deſtroy themſelves. Thy prophecy is at laſt fulfilled; the chief ſtates of Greece, headed by Athens and Lacedæmon, have begun a war, which, according to all appearances, will be long, bloody, and active. Ambition and reſentment inflame both parties alike: the Athenians contend for the preſervation of the authority they poſſeſs; the Lacedæmonians for the recovery of that, which they formerly enjoyed. The naval force of the one will for the preſent turn the ſcale of the war generally in their favour; the indefatigable induſtry of the other may in a courſe of years incline it to themſelves. The luxury and licentiouſneſs, which begin to corrupt the ancient ſimplicity of Athens, may in time damp the efforts of her ambition; the patience and diſcipline of Lacedæmon will make amends for what they want in vivacity and addreſs. However fatal the effects of theſe civil diſcords may prove to Greece, Perſia has reaſon to rejoice at them; it will be her part to add perpetual fuel to the flame already

already broke out, with ſupplies of men and money to the weakeſt. By purſuing ſuch meaſures, the great king, from being contemned and ridiculed by every petty republic, will become courted and eſteemed by the greateſt. That reſpect, which in the times of THEMISTOCLES they would not have ſhewn to his ſacred perſon, they will now pay more obſequiouſly to the meaneſt of his ſatraps; and the Perſians, from being ſtiled barbarians, will be eſteemed by the party they aſſiſt as the deliverers of Greece.

PERICLES, thou knoweſt, is the greateſt conductor of the war; but whether he promotes it through a regard for the intereſts of his country, or of himſelf, is uncertain. I have already mentioned the accuſations of his enemies, who attribute it wholly to motives of the latter ſort. I can only add, that I am informed, that before my arrival, impeachments were brought againſt ſeveral of his friends, as PHIDIAS, ASPASIA, and ANAXAGORAS; nor had he any reaſon to boaſt of ſucceſs in bringing them off. The ſtatuary was unjuſtly condemned; the lady's acquittal he procur'd by tears and earneſt ſupplications to her judges; and the philoſopher he was obliged to ſend out of the town. The oppoſite party, to haraſs him farther, procured a decree, that he ſhould produce exact accounts of the public money, which had been laid out by his direction. Theſe circumſtances being put together, I think it not improbable, that he has fallen in with the diſpoſitions for war, in order to diſpel thoſe clouds of enmity and malice, by finding his reſtleſs countrymen more important occupations. But he will never let them manage it as they pleaſe; and

whilſt

whilſt he continues in power, peace or war will be determined, not by the votes of a head-ſtrong multitude, but the calm reſolves of his own prudence and deep penetration. Such is the influence, which his great abilities, particularly his maſterly talent of ſpeaking, give him, over a people the moſt difficult of all others to be controuled or contradicted. Another part of his conduct, which contributes not a little to eſtabliſh his authority, is, that every body knows, though the whole revenues of Athens have paſſed many years through his hands, he has ſpent them all in rendring his native country the envy and admiration of ſtrangers, by the magnificence of its buildings, without improving in the leaſt his own paternal inheritance. Forgive, ſage MEGABYZUS, the length of this diſpatch, and attribute it to my deſire of obeying thy commands with exactneſs. Mayſt thou always continue a ſupport and ſafeguard to the throne of thy prince; mayſt thou no more experience the adverſities of fortune, and the fickleneſs of court-favour; but long enjoy thoſe high offices and dignities without envy, to which thy paſt ſervices and merits ſo juſtly entitle thee. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER V.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES, firſt chamberlain to the king of Perſia.

IT has proved the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance of my employment, that I have not yet been able to write

write to my friends; who, I hope, do not imagine, that becauſe I have reſided a few months at Athens, I have quite forgotten the relation I bear to Perſia; or that becauſe I am engaged in the offices of a political life, I therefore intend to diſregard thoſe of the ſocial. To deal frankly with thee, though thou art a courtier, I thought it my duty to prefer buſineſs of a public nature, to amuſements of a private one; and to make my employment ſit eaſy upon me by a little practice, before I turned my thoughts another way. And beſides I was not inclined to ſend imperfect accounts of a nation, whilſt I was a ſtranger to it: ſuch a proceeding would have been diſingenuous and ridiculous. The firſt queſtion thou wouldſt probably have me reſolve, is, what peculiar difference I find in the manners of Greece and Perſia; ſince cuſtom has placed as many marks of diſtinction in the civil manners of every nation, as providence has diſplay'd in the natural bodies of each individual. I will tell thee then, a Perſian would find nothing more ſurprizing, than the unbounded freedom of action and converſation, which reigns here. The counſels of the great king are impenetrable; we diſcover nothing of them till they take effect; whilſt here every meaſure is known, long before it is put in execution, and canvaſſed with as much liberty in common converſation, as in the aſſemblies of the people. We approach our mighty monarch with poſtures of adoration, and addreſs him in language, which is uſed to the deity. At Athens the magiſtrates are diſtinguiſhed more by being virulently abuſed, than by any other mark of authority. PERICLES himſelf is ſure

to

to be the object aimed at by every one, who writes either ſcandalous libels to be diſperſed about the city, or performances deſigned for public repreſentation. The actors themſelves ſometimes appear upon the ſtage in masks, which are made exactly to reſemble the face of the perſon ridiculed. The Perſian magnificence appears moſt at their entertainments; the Athenian at their ſolemn feſtivals. The Aſiatic feaſts are remarkable for the vaſt quantities of proviſions, the coſtlineſs of the preparations, and the ſumptuous furniture; the chief recommendation of a Greek one is, the elegance and variety of the table-talk, ſo that an Athenian ſaid prettily enough, our entertainments do not only pleaſe, when we give them, but the day after. The Aſiatic taſte and grandeur appear in the palaces of their princes and ſatraps; the Grecian in the temples of their gods, and the public buildings. Not a nobleman in Perſia but ſhews his rank by the richneſs of his dreſs, and the number of his attendants; whereas here you cannot diſtinguiſh a citizen from a ſlave, by his habit; and the wealthieſt Athenian, the moſt conſiderable perſon in the city, is not aſhamed to go to market himſelf. In Perſia the eyes of all are turned toward the ſovereign, and they regulate their conduct by his: in the free republics of Greece the people is king, and reſemble other monarchs in their bad qualities more than in their good ones; for they are fickle and imperious, ſevere and obſtinate. I have in this letter juſt ſketched the great out-lines, which mark the difference of manners between Greece and Aſia: I may perhaps give the picture a few more touches, if it appears thou art at all entertain'd by

what I have already perform'd. I deſire thou wouldſt not fail to ſend me the chit-chat of the court, and the news ſtirring in that centre of the empire. Conſider, to a man employed abroad the moſt trifling occurrences, which turn his thoughts to his country and friends, are intereſting. I wiſh thee length of days in the poſt thou at preſent poſſeſſeſt, ſince thou haſt gain'd thy prince's ear without flattery, and canſt amuſe him, without liſt'ning for materials to the idle ſtories of ſlanderers and tale-bearers. Farewell.

From Athens. P.

LETTER VI.

GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia, to CLEANDER at Athens.

THY diligence in ſending ſpeedy advices, and thy judgment in chooſing ſuch as are material and intereſting, have met with deſerved approbation at the Perſian court. Thy letters are ordered by the council to be depoſited in the archives of the empire; and the great ſovereign of the Eaſt himſelf has deigned to caſt a gracious eye on the labours of his ſervant, to expreſs the ſatisfaction they have given him, and to aſſure thee of his royal favour; an honour, CLEANDER, which I know will inſpire thee with induſtry, to undergo the difficulties of thy employment; with reſolution, to confront the dangers of it; and with zeal to ſerve a prince, whoſe benign influence (like that of the radiant Mithras) extends to all parts of his empire, and makes it ſelf felt by the meaneſt ſlave, who approaches it. The

contents

contents of thy diſpatches afford pleaſure to every Perſian. ARIMANIUS dooms the ſons of Greece to irreſiſtible perdition; he inflames their minds with civil diſcord; and turns the weapons, which were ſharp'ned againſt us, into their own boſoms. O may this accurſed being, the origin of ill, ſatiated with the misfortunes that have befallen the kingdom of CYRUS, exert for the future his baneful power amongſt our enemies; and not only arm Greece againſt itſelf, but inſtil the venom of ſedition and diſcontent into each particular ſtate. I ſee by thy letters, that a conſiderable party in Athens are ingaged in a warm oppoſition to the meaſures of PERICLES; and no doubt the courſe of a long and expenſive war will afford them many opportunities to ruin his credit with the people. Thou canſt not perform a more important ſervice, than by encouraging any project to diſtreſs him; for I wiſh no worſe to Athens, than that he may experience the fortune of THEMISTOCLES, and find like him that eſteem and kindneſs amongſt ſtrangers, which his ungrateful countrymen refuſe him. However all inſtructions of this nature muſt be left to thy own diſcretion, as thou art upon the ſpot, and haſt better lights to conduct thy ſelf by, than any thou canſt receive from hence. Fail not to intermix thy hiſtorical diſpatches with accounts of the conſtitutions of the different governments of Greece, the diſpoſitions and cuſtoms of the people, and the characters of the ruling men. I foreſee, that the part we ſhall be obliged to take in their affairs will make ſuch informations abſolutely neceſſary; and bring us into a more familiar acquaintance with the nations, amongſt whom thou reſideſt.

I dare

I dare ſay, thou always beareſt in mind the importance of the truſt repoſed in thee; and the ſubmiſſion and readineſs, with which it is thy duty to receive and execute the orders of the monarch of Aſia, whoſe power of rewarding his faithful ſervants is equalled by nothing, but the bounty which he diſplays in doing it.

From the court at Ecbatana. P.

LETTER. VII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THY curious and diſcerning eye, which dwells not upon ſuperficial matters, or the common occurrences, but pries into the more hidden ſprings of political meaſures and ſecret reaſons of ſtate, enables thee to be ſo eminently ſerviceable to the miniſters of our mighty empire: and thou faileſt not to entertain thy friends with novelties relating to the conſtitution of thoſe republics, which are eſtabliſhed upon a plan of government ſo different from ours. But the more eagerly thy epiſtles are here receiv'd on theſe accounts, the greater difficulty doſt thou put upon thy friends to find any thing worth ſending thee in return for them. As to what relates more particularly to thy inſtructions, it belongs only to the ſecretaries and great counſellors of our awful monarch to correſpond with thee; and any thing farther of the politics or intrigues of this court thou can'ſt not expect from them, who are but rarely admitted into the cabinet. But ſince, as thou ſayeſt, the moſt trivial concerns are in ſome ſort intereſting to one in thy cir-

cumſtances from a place, which he eſteems his home, I will write, if it be but upon trifles, that have nothing further to recommend them, than that they travel ſo far to thee, and are ſent from the court of Ecbatana. The plague, which had cauſed ſo great a mortality in Perſia, and long caſt a damp upon all the gaieties of our court, is now pretty well over in theſe parts. And though ſuch public calamities, while they laſt, or are juſt freſh upon the minds of men, tend naturally to occaſion ſerioufneſs, and give the moſt careleſs a ſhort interval of ſober thinking, yet we too commonly find, that they are no ſooner removed, than the impreſſion from them begins to wear off, and thoſe, who had of late but narrowly eſcaped the danger, return only with a keener appetite to their former pleaſures. And thus I may ſay it happens at this time; never was the court of Perſia more ſplendid; never did extravagancies in dreſs and gallantry run higher. The faſhions indeed, which ſo univerſally prevail among us, we know, were of Median original, and had their riſe firſt in this place, before it became the metropolis of united kingdoms, and whilſt the Medes and Perſians were a ſeparate people. But though compared with the Perſian plainneſs in the reign of CYRUS, the Medes might then ſeem advanced to the firſt pitch of luxury; yet poſterity have ſo well improved upon them, that old ASTYAGES himſelf with his politeſt courtiers would now make an aukward appearance at Ecbatana. We have here lately ſolemnized the nuptials of the great ſatrap of Bactria ARASPES, with ARTAMINTA, the governor of SARDIS's daughter, who is eſteemed one of the firſt beauties of this

this court, and is a reigning favourite of the empreſs; and for the greater magnificence the ceremony was performed in the royal gardens. And as if the natural beauties of the place in this delightful ſeaſon had not been enough to have charmed every ſenſe to pleaſure, a pompous colonade, of a ſtupendous height, was erected in the middle of a ſpacious lawn. Through this the company was conducted to a ſtately pavilion, that aſcended by ſeveral ſteps, covered over with a canopy of the richeſt embroidery of gold and ſilver, and a thicket of bloſſoming greens ſurrounded it, * when the embowring ſhades alone would formerly have been thought upon any occaſion the moſt delightful ſhelter from the noon-day heat. Upon a ſofa of ſtate, at the upper end, ſat the ſupreme monarch of the eaſt; and on another his conſort by him: a little lower the nuptial rites were celebrated, and the happy ARASPES joined his hands with the beauteous ARTAMINTA. The other moſt diſtinguiſhed ſatraps ſtood about the throne, and the reſt of the gaudy retinue attended at an humbler diſtance below. The company afterwards adjourned into another part of the gardens, where with equal ſplendor the nuptial feaſt was prepared. I ſhall not deſcribe to thee the luxurious dainties there ſerved up, no more than I ſhall attempt to ſet forth the ſumptuous finery of thoſe, who adorned the nuptials; nor canſt thou take any pleaſure in hearing, that the

* Ἐν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει ἐκ ἀρχῆσιν αὐλοῖς οὔθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων, οὔθ' αἱ πίλεῶν σκιαὶ, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῦταις ἑτέρας σκιὰς ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον.

Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri. Lib. 8. ed. Franc. p. 241. C.

youth of Perſia, upon whom depend our hopes of maintaining the monarchy of the world, ſhould be * more exact in perfuming their hair, curling it in ringlets, and enlivening their complexion with artificial waſhes, than the ſofteſt even of the female ſex. Amongſt thoſe, who made the moſt gallant appearance, was the young ORSAMES, the ſon of ARTÆUS, preſident of the tribunal of juſtice, and a relation of ARTAMINTA's. His dreſs indeed was extremely rich and ſuitable to the occaſion; but the unaffected graces of his perſon, which owe nothing to the diſguiſe of art, made him appear with a manly eaſe in every motion, that, as it turns our eſteem upon him, makes the effeminate airs of the reſt appear more ridiculous. He ſeems by nature and inclination to be formed to virtue, and has acquired all thoſe noble accompliſhments, for which the Perſian education was ſo famed of old: and with a laudable thirſt after knowledge and improvement, he deſires to acquaint himſelf with the arts, learning, and policies of other countries. He is therefore ſetting out upon the tour of Ægypt and Greece; and waited only for theſe nuptials to be over, before he went. To ſatisfy your curioſity and his own, he deſires by me to be recommended to you, having a deſign to correſpond with you from diſtant parts, and will take pleaſure to be inſtructed by your letters in the manners and cuſtoms of Greece, before he arrives there. But I muſt not omit to inform you, how the grand ſolemnity ended: after the banquet was over, when the cool and pleaſant time of the evening came on, the artificial muſic, which had

* Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri. Lib. 8 Herod. Lib. 9.

for

for a while given place to the ſweeter harmony of ten thouſand nightingales, that warble through thoſe happy groves, and whoſe notes upon this occaſion ſeem'd inſpired with a more raviſhing melody, ſtruck up at once from all the various inſtruments of ſound in full concert. The company was then diſperſed through different walks, that all concenter'd upon the pavilion, where the great monarch, his queen, and the happy couple with the other chief ſatraps ſat to enjoy the ſweets of the evening. When the twilight had now given place to the darker ſhades of night, all in an inſtant the gloom was diſperſed, and it ſeemed as if a whole firmament of ſtars had ſhot up among the trees, to renew at once their intermingled lights, and rival the blaze of day. The birds were awakened by the deceit, and began again their enchanting ſtrains more ſweetly, than when the early beams of MITHRAS are firſt diſplayed from behind the curtains of the eaſt. The nuptial hymn compoſed by the Mage THIAMIS was ſung by ſix comely youths, and as many blooming virgins clad in white, and the happy pair were conducted to the genial bed.

From Ecbatana. L.

LETTER VIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I Receiv'd thy diſpatch with due reverence; I kiſſed the royal ſignet, and bowed my head in token of ſubmiſſion to the commands of the ſovereign of the eaſt, tranſmitted by his faithful miniſter. Thy commendations, illuſtrious ſcribe, are of more value in my ſight,

than all the treaſures of Aſia; and I look upon the gracious acceptance, which the mighty ARTAXERXES vouchſafes my ſervices, as a nobler reward, than if he beſtow'd on me the moſt potent ſatrapy in the whole Perſian empire. Since my laſt letters, the war has been carried on with greater preparation than effect; and the blood yet ſpilt has rather ſerved to exaſperate both parties, than to cool the reſentments of either.

The army of the allies, commanded by ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, advanced to the frontiers of Attica, and laid ſiege to Oenoe; but being repulſed in their attacks they raiſed the ſiege, and advanced further into the country, till they came into an open town called Acharnæ not 60 furlongs from Athens, where they encamped. The Athenians, irritated at the boldneſs of the enemy, and ſenſibly afflicted to ſee their poſſeſſions ruined and waſted in their ſight, earneſtly deſired to ſally out of their walls, and come to an engagement; but PERICLES, notwithſtanding both their preſſing deſires, and the ſevere railleries of his enemies, who reproached him with cowardice and ſtupidity, perſevered in declining ſo hazardous a meaſure; and like a ſkillful pilot in a ſtorm, relied on his own ſuperior knowledge and experience, without regarding the cries or menaces of the ignorant paſſengers. Indeed it is ſurprizing, that a ſingle man ſhould not only have authority enough to oppoſe the unanimous opinion of a head-ſtrong and mutinous people, in whoſe hands the ſupreme government is lodged; but even to hinder any aſſembly from being called, leſt in the preſent heat ſome raſh reſolution might be taken. However to keep

keep up their ſpirits, and divert the ſtrength of the enemy, he ſent out a ſquadron of a hundred gallies with troops on board, who made deſcents, and ravaged the ſea-coaſts of Peloponneſus and Laconia; which obliged the allies, after having conſumed their proviſions, to decamp and return home. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were retired, ſet apart 1000 talents and 100 gallies for their defence againſt an invaſion by ſea; and made it capital for any one, who ſhould move to have them applied to any other uſe. Thou wilt have a compleat ſurvey of the theatre of the war, when I have told thee, that it extends as far as Thrace, where the Athenians are now beſieging Potidæa, which, at the inſtigations of the Corinthians (their founders) and the Lacedæmonians, revolted from them, along with Chalcis, and Botiæa, and were aſſiſted by PERDICCAS, king of Macedon. I juſt now learned, that he is reconciled to this ſtate by the mediation of SITALCES, a Thracian prince; and has engaged to join with PHORMIO, the Athenian general, againſt the Chalcideans.

As no action of importance has yet happened, I endeavour not to tire thy patience with tedious relations of every ſkirmiſh and trifling event. It will be more uſeful to let thee into the reaſons of PERICLES's conduct, which may appear to deſerve the name of timidity rather than of prudence; but he wiſely conſidered the extreme hazard of facing an enemy in the field, whoſe troops were ſuperior both in number and goodneſs to the Athenian; that a defeat would abſolutely ruin their affairs, and a victory not balance, in its advantages, the peril, that attended it; ſince Peloponneſus could eaſily have re-

cruited the conquered army; whilſt the lives of his citizens would be thrown away, and their attention drawn off from their naval ſtrength to the land ſervice, though their ſafety depends entirely on cultivating the former.

The head of the party in oppoſition to him is CLEON, the ſon of a currier, a perſon of an aſſuming and violent temper; rather formed to diſturb, than ſerve his country; and with talents to make him a popular demagogue, but not a ſtateſman. PERICLES has no great reaſon to apprehend the weak attempts of a CLEON, when his power and influence over the Athenians has been ſufficient to baniſh CIMON and THUCYDIDES, men of real abilities and integrity; the name of the former can never be forgotten in Perſia as long as it continues an empire. I am grieved to hear, that Aſia, when it has ſcarce recovered the miſerable effects of war, is depopulated by a devouring peſtilence, whoſe ravages are equally fatal, but more extenſive, and whoſe contagion is alike dangerous to the cottage of the labourer and the palace of the prince. O may theſe puniſhments of the Gods, which never come undeſerved, help us to throw off our luxurious and diſſolute manners, and reſume the maſculine virtues and ſimplicity of the old Perſians; ſince ſo extenſive an inheritance, as the empire they tranſmitted to us, can never be preſerved, but by the ſame arts that raiſed it. Excuſe my freedom, worthy miniſter, and remember it is the ſtrongeſt proof I can give thee of my fidelity. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

HIPPIAS the merchant to CLEANDER at Athens.

IF any thing, my deareſt brother, could add to the pleaſure of hearing, that you were ſafely arrived at Athens, it was, that you ſeem ſo ſenſible of the advantages accruing to a nation from an extended commerce: and indeed the ſtriking impreſſion, which the bare view of a crouded port affords, is ocular demonſtration, and the moſt convincing kind of argument. I wiſh either your ſpeculative or my experimental knowledge may perſuade the Perſian miniſtry, that nothing tends ſo much as trade to the circulation of induſtry, wealth, and happineſs through a people; that it becomes a common tye to connect the diſtant parts of the moſt extended empire; and that, like veins in the natural body, it conveys life, warmth, and health, over the political. I found my ſelf much inclined to fall into a train of reflections of this nature in a journey, partly of buſineſs, and partly of pleaſure, which I took lately to Ecbatana; and I will communicate to you the reſult of them. Three circumſtances, I am perſuaded, contribute to render the fine ſituation of Perſia for commerce almoſt uſeleſs: one is, that in all their great naval preparations againſt the Greeks, they have conſtantly furniſhed themſelves with ſhips and ſeamen from Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cilicia, inſtead of encouraging their natural ſubjects to imitate the trading nations, who are tributary to them, on whom the marine of the empire at preſent entirely depends.

depends. Another obſtacle to trade ariſes from the late treaty with Athens, by one article of which it is agreed "that no Perſian veſſel ſhall enter the ſeas, which extend from the Pontus Euxinus to the coaſts of Pamphylia; and that no Perſian troops ſhall come within three days march of thoſe ſeas." A third circumſtance, which is the moſt ſurprizing of all, is, that they have contrived cataracts on the Tigris and Euphrates, to break the regular courſe of the ſtream, and make the navigation of thoſe rivers difficult. I mention this inſtance from my own obſervation, as it ſhews, not only their utter inattention to improve their natural advantages, but, what is much worſe, a ſtupid obſtinacy to oppoſe the means, which bountiful nature has ſupplied them with, to facilitate the carriage of their manufactures and inland commerce. They pretend, that theſe cataracts prevent the enterprizes of enemies, who might endeavour to invade them by coming up theſe great rivers: but I think this apprehenſion as vain, as the precaution is abſurd; for a naval force joined to the numerous land army, which they keep up, would eaſily defeat any ſuch attempts. Since my abode at Ecbatana I have frequently repreſented to the miniſters the advantages, which muſt ariſe to the empire from deſtroying them, and I hope not quite ineffectually. I aſſure you, I am much pleaſed to take this opportunity of falling into my old train of thought; for I have lately led the life of a courtier rather than a merchant, to which the pleaſures of the place have not a little invited me. The recommendations, with which the governor of Sardis honoured me, and the friends you have

here, contribute more to my good reception, than any merit of my own. I dare ſay your curioſity will expect ſome account of the city where I am; I ſhall therefore endeavour to gratify it.

You need not be informed, that Ecbatana is the metropolis of Media, and was anciently the ſeat of the Median, as it is now of the Perſian monarchs. It is ſituated on a riſing ground, not far from mount Orontes, in a country called for its peculiar pleaſantneſs, "the "garden of Perſia."

The city is contain'd within an encloſure of ſeven walls, gradually riſing one above another. The palace and the treaſury are built within the innermoſt circle of the ſeven, which is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the embelliſhment of a gold colouring. Ecbatana has the advantage of being ſurrounded by ſpacious plains, particularly thoſe of Nyſa, where the royal ſtuds of 50,000 horſes are kept. Theſe plains are bounded on one ſide by mount Orontes, on the other by a large foreſt, amidſt whoſe lofty trees ariſe the country ſeats of the Perſian nobility. I ſhould tire thee with deſcribing the ſolemnity of an audience of the great king; the magnificence, with which he entertains the princes of the blood and the great ſatraps, and the pomp of his attendance, when he appears abroad: beſides, I forget that you are no ſtranger to the ſplendor of the Aſian court. As ſoon as it removes to Suſa, its winter reſidence, I ſhall return to my old ſcene of life at Epheſus; I hope not corrupted by the pleaſures of the place, and I am ſure not infected with the leaſt tincture of a courtier's inſincerity, when I aſſure you of my warmeſt affections. Adieu.

From Ecbatana. P.

LET-

LETTER X.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

HYdaſpes the chamberlain has informed thee of my intentions, to correſpond with thee upon my travels; thou wilt not therefore wonder at receiving a letter from this place. And truly though I am a ſtranger to thy perſon, yet the reputation thou beareſt here, not only for an approved capacity in buſineſs of the greateſt weight and importance, but for a genius of the moſt refined caſt and extenſive compaſs, may well ſave me the trouble of any apology for thus beginning an epiſtolary intercourſe with thee. I have that eſteem for every man of diſtinguiſhed parts and an improved underſtanding, that I would find ſome way of recommending my ſelf to ſuch a perſon, though he were in the moſt diſtant corners of the earth. * The city I am now at, which roſe upon the ruins of the ancient Nineveh, and was deſigned as much to eclipſe that famed ſeat of the old Aſſyrian empire, as the glory and power of its founder did that of Ninus, would have engaged me to have come hither by choice, had it not lain ſo direct in the tour of my travels, eſpecially at a time when the court being abſent, I can more leiſurely take a ſurvey of its admirable curioſities. But Babylon need not be particularly deſcribed to thee, who haſt been perſonally thyſelf in moſt of the noble metropolis's of this empire,

* Herod. Lib. 1. c. 106. ibid. c. 178.

among

among which the monarch of the world is pleaſed to divide his time. Never ſure was any city built upon a more regular and magnificent plan; never was any better contrived for the healthfulneſs of its populous inhabitants; ſo ſpacious are the ſtreets, ſo large the outlets for gardens and walks of pleaſure in the midſt of every ſquare of building; beſides which the houſes ſtand ſo far aſunder, that one cannot in this city complain of living more cloſely, or breathing a leſs purer air, than if one was placed in the midſt of the country; ſo truly does Babylon reconcile the two contrarieties of a town and a rural ſituation; and thoſe vaſt plains, which were left unbuilt by the Aſſyrian king, are, to ſpeak literally, a wide country with champain, corn fields, and paſture, all encloſed within walls and fortreſſes. By the civility of ARTABAZUS the governor, I was ſhewn the vaſt extent of this city in the moſt convenient manner upon the walls, and for the greater eaſe we made a journey of two days in going round. Could human ſtrength have reſiſted the decrees of deſtiny, or of that over-ruling power, which governs the world, and had ordained for CYRUS the eſtabliſhment of a glorious empire, it might have been thought, that this place of all others was impregnable, defended with gates of braſs, and encompaſſed with theſe ſtupendous walls. But that, which the Aſſyrian thought would complete the glory of his mighty works, expos'd the city to be taken; and thoſe impaſſable moraſſes, ſince the mounds of the Pallacopas were blown up, upon CYRUS's turning the river into it, which have overflooded the plains of Babylon, and ſpread over an unmeaſurable tract of land, are a laſting monument of

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vain expence, deſigned to perpetuate his memory. 'Tis reported, that after NABUCHODROSOR had finiſhed theſe magnificent works, * he foreſaw, to mortify his pride, and foretold by a prophetic ſpirit, that Babylon would be taken; and the famous prophecy he uttered upon the occaſion was written by the prieſts of Belus, and found long ſince in the archives of their temple †. That famous ſtructure was much damaged by XERXES, and ſtript of the rich ſtatues of the Aſſyrian gods and the ſacred utenſils; but the walls and towers are left ſtanding, though not yet repaired, as was intended. My curioſity led me up one fine afternoon to the top of it; and it was with infinite ſurprize and pleaſure I ſurvey'd, in the aſcent, the ſcene, that preſented itſelf below. As far as the eye could reach, appeared the moſt regular diverſity of pomp and magnificence. Here a vaſt expanſe of palaces and ſtately buildings ſeemed to cover the whole plain beneath, and terminate the wide horizon, except where the diſtant waters of the great moraſs were juſt diſcernable, by the reflection of the rays of the declining ſun. Below me lay the remains of the ancient palace, which takes up four miles in circumference; and facing it on the weſtern banks of the river that ſuperb new one, which exceeds all deſcription, and ſtands upon twice the compaſs of ground with the former. There roſe the gardens of AMYTIS, which ſeem to hang pendulous in air; nor

* Abydenus ap. Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41.

† Arrian. Lib. 7. dicit hoc templum a Xerxe ſubverſum fuiſſe, ſed Herodotus Xerxi diu ſuperſtes, cum in templi hujus mentionem incidit, habet hæc verba, Διὸς Βήλω ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὸν. Clio. c. 181.

does

does the ſtrength of thoſe arches (ſuch is the exquiſite contrivance of the work) appear as any ſupport to the terraſſes and foreſts of the largeſt trees, that are mounted above them. By the time we had reached to the utmoſt ſummit, the chearful glow of the ſetting ſun began to grow fainter in the weſtern clouds; but as the glorious proſpect vaniſh'd underneath, from the diſtance and the duſk of the evening, another more beautiful broke out above in thoſe myriads of twinkling lights, which diverſify the heavens, in the abſence of the radiant MITHRAS. We were then got up to the obſervatory, and found the ſages in aſtronomy beginning their curious contemplations. They very courteouſly marked out to me a ſcheme of the heavens in the heavens themſelves. 'Tis theirs to number the ſtars, and know them diſtinctly by their names; to obſerve, when they riſe and ſet; and to reduce their greateſt wanderings to fix'd and certain rules. Thus raiſed as it were betwixt earth and heaven, above the noiſe and tumult of human affairs, I fancied myſelf in the neighbourhood of the cœleſtial bodies, converſing with them, as they moved through the ſerene æther in their ſilent courſes. How noble and ſtupendous beyond all the maſter-pieces of art did nature then appear! how immenſe and aſtoniſhing! how boundleſs and infinite! The thoughts, that then ſwelled in my breaſt, are too big for utterance; I was dumb with rapture and amazement; I fell on my face and adored the everlaſting OROMASDES. When compared with theſe his works, how mean are the moſt ſplendid glories of the Perſian empire! how little and contemptible! they flatten—they diminiſh—they ſhrink into nothing! L.

From Babylon.

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LETTER XI.

CLEANDER to OTANES ſuper-intendant of the royal palaces, &c.

AS ſoon as I am at leiſure to turn my thoughts to any other concerns, beſide thoſe of the great king, thine (as this may ſerve to convince thee) are the uppermoſt in my mind. I have, as thou gaveſt me in charge, applied myſelf of late to the ſurveying this renowned city, which is divided into two parts, the upper and lower. The upper, which is the more ancient, and was formerly the whole of it, is, in its preſent grandeur, almoſt entirely occupied by the public buildings, ſuch as the citadel, the temples of the gods, and the courts of judicature: the lower, which is guarded by a fort called Munychia, is laid out in an infinite number of ſtreets, and communicates with the two havens, the Piræeus and Phalereus, by two walls of moſt amazing ſtrength and more than forty ſtadiums long; theſe and the citadel were built partly by CIMON, and partly by THEMISTOCLES. Some here ſcruple not to ſay, that the circumference of the whole is more than a day's journey, and even thoſe who are moſt moderate affirm it to be above five paraſangs; and doubtleſs, if one were to form a judgment of the ſtrength and power of the Athenians from the ſtate and magnificence of this metropolis, it would ſurpaſs all that has been reported of them. For to a Perſian it would ſeem incredible, that the capital of a people, whoſe dominions exceed not in extent thoſe of many an inferior ſatrap in the ſhining court

court ſhould equal in dimenſions and grandeur the moſt ſumptuous of thoſe, where the lord of Aſia deigns to reſide. For the ornamental parts, it is chiefly indebted to the care and genius of PERICLES; who, with a ſoul graſping at and capable of executing all things, thought it not enough to aggrandize the ſtate, except he ſhould at the ſame time adorn it equally; not content to make it the moſt powerful, he reſolved alſo to make it the moſt beautiful city in Greece. By the encouragement and large rewards, which he offered, he drew together the moſt celebrated artiſts in each kind from all parts of the world: their numbers ſoon inſpired them with an emulation of excelling each other; and where all were excellent, it was to loſe reputation, to produce any thing that was not perfect in its kind. Hence it is, potent lord, that it exceeds all power of words to expreſs, or imagination to conceive the beauties, that are diſplay'd in ſome of their principal buildings: thoſe dedicated to the gods eſpecially might ſeem not unworthy of immortal natures; there is a grandeur as well as ſimplicity, which raviſhes one at the firſt ſight; they are all of them finiſhed upon the moſt exquiſite models; not blazing indeed with gold or precious ſtones, but poliſhed with a care and delicacy, that would give value to the meaneſt materials, and ſurpaſſes the brighteſt glow and moſt diverſified irradiations of colour. That in particular, which is devoted to MINERVA, the guardian and protectreſs of the city, as is it the largeſt, ſo is it the moſt compleat; its length is upwards of 100 cubits, and the breadth about 50: the outſide adorned with a beautiful colonade, which ſerves to ſupport the bold projections of a moſt

curious entablature. On entering and ſurveying the inſide, I found myſelf delighted and ſurprized without knowing the particular cauſe; till on further conſideration I perceiv'd, that this was owing to the exact ſymmetry and happy adjuſtments of each part. I was convinced, that the proportions obſerved in this were the trueſt and moſt natural that can be; and will, if I foreſee aright, be a pattern for imitation to all ſucceeding times. There is, there muſt be ſomething fixed and rational in this, as well as all other objects of the mind. Why elſe do the ſtupendous works of Babylon, and the ſo celebrated temple of DIANA, which my native Epheſus boaſts, though they amaze and awe, yet fail of pleaſing us! And whence is it, that, though none but the moſt conſummate artiſt is capable of deſigning what is truly great and majeſtic, yet all admire and approve what is ſo, when finiſhed? Happy PERICLES, whoſe name ſhall live, not in theſe auguſt buildings only, but in all, which deſerve the admiration of mankind to the lateſt poſterity! It was from a ſenſe of this, that he ſilenced the clamours of his enemies, and put a ſtop to the complaints of his fellow-citizens, in relation to the great charge of theſe edifices. He offered to pay the expence of all that was done, on condition that he might have the reputation of deſigning and raiſing ſo many illuſtrious monuments. Beſide this, the moſt remarkable temples are thoſe dedicated to NEPTUNE, CASTOR and POLLUX, and THESEUS; nor can it fail to give every Perſian the ſame pleaſure it did me, when he ſhall know, that another of their moſt ſtately buildings, the Odeum or muſic theatre,

is

is built after the model of that pavilion, which ſhades the ſacred head of the moſt powerful monarch in the univerſe. It would be endleſs to recount the other buildings, which riſe on all ſides around me; nor will I attempt at preſent to deſcribe the fine paintings, or enumerate the beautiful ſtatues, which people, as it were, every corner of the city. Theſe are all done under the direction and moſt by the hand of PHIDIAS, an artiſt ſo extraordinary, as to be worthy the encouragement of our great monarch, and who, when ſupported by his munificence, might exceed all that the world has ever ſeen in that way; and yet this ſo excellent a maſter has lately, out of ſpite to PERICLES his patron, been caſt into priſon, and is ſuffered to languiſh there in daily expectation of death. Such is the reward of all his labours from an ungrateful city! Thou art happy, OTANES, in ſerving a maſter, who will not value thee leſs, becauſe thou deſerveſt to be valued more. Be it thy ambition to render thoſe ſplendid apartments, committed to thy care, worthy of their royal gueſt; and if the Athenians ſcruple not to imitate the Aſiatic barbarians (as they inſolently call us) in one of their buildings, nor do thou diſdain to tranſcribe other excellencies from them. Bluſh not to copy after maſters, whoſe natural bent and genius lie towards theſe arts; who deſpiſing all uſeleſs oſtentation, and laughing at the cumbrous uninformed buildings of the Eaſt, have firſt ſhewed the world, "that "convenience is not incompatible with ſtate, nor true "magnificence deſtitute of real uſe." Adieu!

From Athens. R.

LETTER XII.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the ſeven counſellors of ſtate to the king of Perſia.

IT was no inconſiderable part of the wiſe inſtructions, which thou gaveſt me, before my voyage to this city, that I ſhould write thee a particular account of every remarkable cuſtom, as well as extraordinary incident, that occurr'd during my abode here. I know how much thou grieveſt in ſecret for the degeneracy of Perſia; and thy deſign in requiring this intelligence, with a view to the improvement of our own country by remarks on the manners of others, is agreeable to the wiſdom of thy miniſtry, and the greatneſs of thy ſoul. A deſign truly glorious, and praiſe worthy! in compariſon whereof, the hiſtory of the vaſt armies and ravages of XERXES may be conſidered as the chaff before the wind, and which will perpetuate the name of MEGABYZUS to the lateſt poſterity.

The Athenians have a law amongſt them, which enjoins, that all thoſe, who die fighting in the cauſe of their country, ſhall at the end of every campaign be buried at the public charge, and their children maintained by the ſtate till they arrive at the age of manhood. The firſt year of the war is now over, and the winter ſeaſon is advanced upon us. Accordingly, the ceremonies thus inſtituted were performed a few days ſince; and I had the pleaſure of ſeeing every part of them. To tell thee my opinion freely, I never was

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to much delighted with the pomp and ſplendor of the court of Suſa, as with the honeſt plainneſs of theſe republican ſolemnities. The whole was conducted after this manner.

About three days before the funeral, the bones of the ſlain were placed in a tent raiſed on purpoſe, ſo that every perſon might have an opportunity to frequent them, and pay them the laſt tribute of a tear. All ſorts of odoriferous herbs and flowers were ſtrewed around the tent; and each man brought ſome in his hand, that he might conſecrate them to the manes of his favourite friend. On the fourth day a coffin of cypreſs was ſent from every tribe, to carry off the bones of their own members. After which went an empty cover'd hearſe in memory of thoſe, who could not be found. The proceſſion was carried on with a peculiar decency of ſorrow, while great numbers of inhabitants, both ſtrangers and citizens, aſſiſted in the train of mourners. The parents of the deceaſed attended at the ſepulchre to weep. No eye could refrain from tears; and the melancholy diſtreſs, which appeared in the faces of all alike, ſeemed but a true copy of the ſentiments of all. The bones were accompanied in this mannner to the public place of burial (which is ſituated in a pleaſant part of the city, called CERAMICUS) and committed to the ground. The monument erected to the valour of theſe citizens was adorned with pillars, trophies, and inſcriptions, ſuch as are uſual about the tombs of the moſt honourable perſons. The ceremony was concluded with one ſpeech in praiſe of them all, and PERICLES was the orator, to whom that task was aſſigned. It is impoſſible for any

man, who has not heard him, to conceive the ſtrength and ſolidity of his thoughts, the grace and dignity of his action, the elegance and ſimplicity of his diction. For my own part, I was enchanted with the power of his eloquence. His countrymen ſay of him very juſtly, that he harangues in an imperial ſtrain. Hence they have given him the ſirname of OLYMPIUS, intimating probably, that, like their god JUPITER, he thunders when he ſpeaks. To this I may add, that the melody of his voice, the air of his countenance, the very manner of his dreſs has ſomething of an engaging and commanding gravity, which at once charms and aſtoniſhes his audience.

The main ſcope of his ſpeech, was to animate the living with reſolution, by commending the courage of the dead; to infuſe a ſpirit of patriotiſm into the minds of his fellow-citizens, by celebrating that principle of action, which incites the valiant to battle. He told them, that ſuch men, though they failed in their attempt, were not wanting in glory to themſelves or their country; that they would for ever receive, inſtead of their lives, an immortal monument of praiſe, (not ſo much that, wherein their bodies are now laid, as a more illuſtrious one in the memory of future ages.) For to men of fame, all the earth is a ſepulchre, and reſpect ſhall be paid to their virtue, not only by inſcriptions and trophies at home; but by unwritten records of the heart in all nations of the world, which, more than any kind of periſhable monument, will remain to eternity. In imitation therefore of theſe men, continued he, and placing happineſs in liberty, and liberty in valour,

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be forward to encounter the dangers of war. He ſet before them the reputation of dying with their ſwords in their hands, for a common-wealth ſo renowned and ſo noble, as that of Athens. In diſplaying the extent and greatneſs of it's dominion, he took occaſion to flatter the people, in aſcribing it chiefly to the prudence of their conduct, the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline, and the bravery of their arms. He extolled the freedom and independency of their conſtitution; that they were all governed by the law, whoſe protection was equally extended to the poor and the rich, to the weak as well as powerful; that the merit and induſtry of every citizen, made his way to preferment, without any perſonal diſtinction whatſoever; in ſhort, that where the rewards of virtue are the greateſt, there live the greateſt men. He cloſed his ſpeech with a particular addreſs to the different ages and ſexes of thoſe who heard him, and diſmiſs'd the multitude.

As ſoon as PERICLES had deſcended from the roſtra, the people followed him to his houſe with loud acclamations of joy; and the ſenſe of every man's ſorrow for the loſs of his relations was changed into the higheſt encomiums on their happineſs and fame. The merits of the deceas'd were drawn in the moſt lively colours by the partial imaginations of friends. Even thoſe, who had been their competitors in the poſts of glory, and had envied their reputation, while living, now honour them with affection, when dead. Each man ſeems ſtudious of ſerving the widows and orphans of thoſe he loved; and the ſtate of Athens, with the ten-

derneſs of a kind parent, is expreſſing thoſe ſentiments of gratitude to the offspring of her brave defenders, which ſhe cannot expreſs to themſelves; a cuſtom ſo juſt and laudable, ſo conſiſtent with the wiſeſt maxims of good policy, that it muſt be left to thy judgment to determine, if the conſtitution of Perſia is not in ſome degree defective for the want of it. Pardon the vehemence of the expreſſion; but this I will venture to affirm, that nothing can tend, in a ſtronger manner, to animate the ſoft and degenerate troops of Aſia to emulate the valour of their generous anceſtors, than rewards and encouragements of the ſame nature, propos'd to military virtue. Herein then let us imitate the republic of Athens, and be in no wiſe aſhamed to learn uſeful improvements from the warmeſt of our foes. I would ask only one queſtion; can any man, who ſhall chance to fall a victim to his enemies in the heat of battle, and conſiders in his laſt and departing moments, that his obſequies ſhall be honourably performed at the charge of his fellow-citizens, that his friends ſhall pay reſpect to his memory by their praiſe, that his children ſhall be educated by the care and prudence of the public; can ſuch a man heſitate one moment, whether he hath done rightly in forfeiting his life, however precious, to the fame of his own character, to the ſervice of his own children, to the general and laſting benefit of his country?

This is a cuſtom, O thou ſage MEGABYZUS, which if ever it be practiſed among us, will eſtabliſh the throne of our mighty maſter, not on the frail and unſtable foundations of pomp and luxury, of force and power,

power, of diſſimulation and craft; but on the popularity of the prince, and the induſtry and affection of his ſubjects; foundations of the regal authority ſo great, and ſo noble, that the king, who would add weight to his ſcepter, muſt reign by them, or govern againſt the happineſs of his people, againſt the very rule, the very end of his government. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER XIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I Forgot not, ſage miniſter, the directions thou gaveſt me, to ſend accounts of the conſtitutions of the different governments in Greece; and now the ſeaſon of action is over, I find more leiſure to proſecute ſuch uſeful enquiries. I intend in this letter to lay before thee a deſcription of the conſtitution of Athens, reducing it to a compaſs conſiſtent, I hope, with accuracy, as well as entertainment.

SOLON, their great legiſlator, formed their government chiefly on a popular plan; though from ſeveral inſtitutions of his it appears, that he deſigned to moderate the inconſtancy and violence of a democracy, by introducing a proper mixture of the ariſtocratical form. The firſt appointed, that none but thoſe, who had ſuch a revenue, ſhould be candidates for the great magiſtracies of the ſtate. The people indeed, ſince the Perſian invaſion, have had influence enough to increaſe their

their power, by getting rid of this incumbrance upon the ambition of the poorer ſort. The ſecond was the eſtabliſhment of a ſenate, choſen annually out of each of the tribes. SOLON, as a third reſtraint upon the people, a third anchor to prevent the republic's being carried away by the intrigues of factious rulers, or the irreſolution of weak ones, enlarged the authority of the Areopagus, their great court of judicature. He likewiſe very much diminiſhed the power of the nine Archons, who have each ſeparate juriſdictions; as the firſt, for inſtance, gives a name to the year, determines in cauſes concerning wills and legacies, and inſpects the theatrical diverſions.

After this general sketch of the Athenian conſtitution, I ſhall proceed to enter more particularly into the grand reſorts and ſprings, on which the movements of their particular ſyſtem depend. The ſenate of 500 is compoſed of 50 out of every one of the ten tribes. No one can be admitted into it, without being at leaſt 30 years of age, and undergoing a ſtrict enquiry into his character. Before he takes his ſeat he binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to adhere to the laws, and give advice to the people of Athens, according to the beſt of his abilities. Every tribe preſides in the ſenate in its turn, (which is regulated by lot) for 35 days. Each company of preſidents are called Prytanes, and out of them the Proedroi, or ſet of preſidents for the week, are appointed. The preſident of the day is one of the Proedroi, and has in his cuſtody the great ſeal, and the keys of the citadel and treaſure, and preſides likewiſe in the aſſemblies of the people. When the ſenate has made

made a decree, if it is ratified by the people, it paſſes into a law; if otherwiſe, it continues in force only for a year. The matters, which come under the cognizance of the ſenate, are of the ſame ſort as thoſe, which are brought before the people; and therefore may be referred to that head. At the expiration of the annual offices of the ſenators, if any ſhips of war have been built during their regency, the people decree them the honour of the crown; a remarkable inſtance of their great attention to increaſe their naval force, as being fully convinced, that the ſafety and honour of the commonwealth depend upon it! The ordinary aſſemblies of the people are held four times in 35 days, particular affairs being allotted to each time; extraordinary ones are ſummoned by the magiſtrates; and a paper is fixed up in the public places of the city, with a ſhort account of the buſineſs to be debated.

The place, where the aſſembly is held, which is either the market place, or a great ſquare near the citadel, is firſt purified by a ſolemn rite of luſtration. When that is ended, the public crier makes a prayer for the proſperity of their counſels; and pronounces an execration againſt thoſe, who endeavour, or adviſe any thing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. Then, by order of the preſident, he ſtates the queſtion; or repeats the decree of the ſenate, which is to be confirmed or rejected. The oldeſt orators begin the debate, and are followed by the younger; though it is to be obſerved, that no perſon under thirty has a right to be heard; nor is any one, who has been convicted of a notorious crime, permitted to have a ſhare in their councils.

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Without the firſt of theſe precautions, they think the ſtate might be expoſed to danger by an immature advice; without the latter, by a deſperate or unlawful one. When the debates are over, the people give their votes, which is uſually done by holding up their hands: Then the opinion is drawn up in writing, and they confirm it by a ſecond diviſion. After the preſident has examined the numbers on both ſides, he pronounces on which the majority lies, and diſmiſſes the aſſembly. It is in theſe aſſemblies of the people, that all affairs relating to war and peace, religion or domeſtic policy, are diſcuſſed. Appeals lie to them from all tribunals, even from that of the Areopagus; of which venerable judicature I ſhall next give thee a ſhort account. Their inſtitution is by ſome attributed to SOLON, but generally to CECROPS the founder of the city. It is chiefly compoſed of the Archons, who have diſcharged their offices with honour; and it's number therefore is not always the ſame. They hold their ſittings on Mars's-hill, in the open air; and when they determine cauſes, it is in the night. The members of this body have been always held in the higheſt eſteem for the ſanctity of their lives, the impartiality of their deciſions, and their knowledge in the laws of their country. Their authority is of a large extent; they inſpect over the obſervation of the laws, the manners of the citizens, and the education of the youth. They have alſo cognizance of caſes of murder, and all ſorts of impieties; and the introduction of new ceremonies fall within their juriſdiction. PERICLES indeed, with a view of making his court to the people,

by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles, has reduced the power of the Areopagus: but ſober men look upon it as one of the worſt ſteps in his adminiſtration; and it affords his enemies a fair topic for invidious remarks. I hope the view I have here given thee, noble ſcribe, of the nature of the Athenian conſtitution, and their manner of carrying on public buſineſs, will not be diſagreeable to thee, or afford unprofitable reflections to the council of Perſia; thy favourable acceptance of this eſſay will encourage me to tranſmit more papers of the ſame kind. I leave it to thy experienced ſagacity, to compare the republican government of Athens with the monarchical one of thy native country; to diſcover the excellencies of each; to trace out their reſpective imperfections; and to determine, whether a conſtitution, blended of both, might not compoſe the moſt perfect form, that human invention can ever expect to attain. But I know, how difficult it would prove to hit that juſt medium; and how hard it is to prevent the ſpirit of faction from mixing with that of reformation. Pardon my preſumption, and ſuffer me to wiſh a long continuance to thy miniſtry; it is the ſame thing as wiſhing an increaſe of honour and proſperity to Perſia. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

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LETTER XIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

THOU continueſt, CLEANDER, to give frequent proofs of thy zeal and abilities in the diſpatches, which thou writeſt to the miniſters of the Perſian court. Our royal maſter is happy in poſſeſſing ſo good a ſervant, particularly at a time, when the wiſdom of our counſels muſt aſſiſt us to regain, what we have loſt by the misfortunes of our arms. Thy laſt letters to MEGABYZUS, and myſelf, were particularly acceptable. They ſhew, that not contented with being a bare annaliſt of the public tranſactions, thou entereſt into the very genius and diſpoſitions of the people, amongſt whom thou reſideſt; and that as thou converſeſt with perſons the moſt intelligent in the government and manners of Athens, ſo thou art no leſs careful to enrich thy country with the fruits of thy knowledge. I will only ſuggeſt this caution to thee, not to ſuffer the partial repreſentations, which the Greeks make of their own policy and religion, to inſpire thee with a diſlike to thoſe of Perſia; nor let the many inſtances, which thou muſt obſerve, of a licentious liberty towards magiſtrates and rulers pervert thy affections from the ſovereign of the Eaſt; neither imagine, that cuſtoms, which ſuit the level conditions of the members of a republic, would equally become the gravity and ſtrict diſcipline of a monarchy. Whatever informations thou canſt acquire relating to the trade, revenues, or marine

of

of Athens, her religious ceremonies or civil inſtitutions, will not fail to recommend thy diligence to a prince, whoſe goodneſs never forgets the meaneſt labours of his ſervants, and whoſe generoſity takes every opportunity of rewarding them. As an earneſt of what thou mayſt expect, he ſends thee, by this courier, a ring ſparkling with a precious ſtone taken out of the royal treaſury, two Median horſes with rich capariſons, and a purſe of 500 golden darics. Receive this regal munificence with gratitude, and prove by thy ſervices, that thou art not unworthy ſo great a mark of confidence and favour. It remains for me to inform thee, that ſeveral councils were lately held on Grecian affairs; in which it was debated, whether the great king ſhould immediately offer his mediation by a ſolemn embaſſy to the Athenians and the Peloponneſian allies; or whether he ſhould ſuffer the war to continue, till both ſides were further weakened, and the loſing party reduced to make application to us. The latter meaſure has, I think, with good reaſon, been choſen. It was conſidered, that it ſeems more for the honour of Perſia not to enter into theſe affairs uninvited, and perhaps expoſe her mediation to contempt. Beſides there is ſome danger, that if we diſcover our intentions too early, the natural jealouſies of the Greeks, with regard to us, may be awakened; a ſenſe of their mutual intereſts prevail over the ſpirit of diſſention and tumult, which now reigns among them; and ſo the game be play'd out of our hands, through our own want of dexterity in managing it. Whereas on the other hand, by delaying to open the part, which Perſia deſigns to

take in theſe differences, the alarm, which Sparta has conceived at the riſing greatneſs of Athens, is ſo great, that the war is likely to continue and grow hotter every year. The conquering party will increaſe in their pretenſions; the vanquiſhed exaſperated by their loſſes, unwilling to yield to thoſe who were formerly their equals, and unable to defend themſelves, can have no where recourſe for aſſiſtance but to us; and thus the balance muſt naturally be placed in our hands, and the Grecian ſtates, diverted from making conqueſts over us, will voluntarily ſue for protection againſt their powerful neighbours, to a country they formerly deſpiſed and hated. But I forbear inſiſting upon the advantages ariſing to Perſia from this conduct; it is every way ſo agreeable to her true intereſts, that it would be doubting thy judgment to inforce it by farther arguments.

Advice from Lacedæmon aſſures us, that the leading men among the allies are determined before the end of the year to ſend a formal embaſſy to the great king, requeſting that he would enter into the league, and furniſh them with ſupplies of men and money. Fail not to advertiſe, whether the Athenians have notice of this; and whether they have any intention to follow an example ſo glorious for Perſia.

Before I conclude this diſpatch, I am to acquaint thee, by the king's expreſs order, that he is ſenſible, in caſe the plague breaks out at Athens, (as it is reported) what dangers thou muſt be expoſed to in a city not able to contain its numerous inhabitants, whoſe preſent inconveniences ſo terrible a diſtreſs will neceſſarily encreaſe;

creaſe; and therefore he thinks it proper for thee to remove to a place, which may be free from that calamity, and at the ſame time not far from Athens. Thus neither will thy own ſafety be expoſed, nor at the ſame time the king's ſervice receive any detriment.

When thou readeſt this inſtance of royal tenderneſs for an uſeful miniſter, and receiveſt the marks of princely bounty which accompany it, thou haſt reaſon to thank the mighty OROMASDES, that thou art born a ſubject of Perſia, and liveſt under the reign of ARTAXERXES.

From Suſa. P.

LETTER. XV.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

HEaring of the meſſenger that was to ſet out to you from GOBRYAS, I would not omit the opportunity it offers me of expreſſing the concern I am under for your ſafety; the lateſt reports from Greece having informed us, that they begin to be under diſmal apprehenſions of the plague at Athens. It is ſaid, that the cattle, * as they graze in the meads adjacent to that city, are ſeized with the noxious vapours aſcending from the earth, and fall inſtantaneouſly dead; the ſure and common preſage, that the ſame calamity will ſoon extend itſelf to the human ſpecies. I could wiſh therefore, you was removed farther from the contagion. May at leaſt thoſe propitious beings, who under the

* Ουρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπῶχέλο. Iliad. ά.

great OROMASDES, are the guardians of our ſtate, preſerve the faithful miniſter of the great king, even amidſt the regions of death. I wiſh thou wer't ſafe at Suſa, could the intereſts of ARTAXERXES be ſerved ſo well by any other perſon leſs valuable to all his friends. Whilſt we enjoy the clemencies of a mild and wholeſom air, thou in a rough and unpleaſant country, expoſed to the rigours of a northern sky, art not only placed amidſt tumults, depopulations, and the alarms of war, but art expoſed to evils, which no human forecaſt can ward againſt; all which thou beareſt moſt willingly for the ſervice of Perſia. Excellent CLEANDER! what reward will not thy merit call for? May ſome happy day reſtore thee to thy friends and country, where MEGABYZUS, who knows thy worth, will raiſe thee to diſtinguiſhed honours, and place thee in ſome tranquil ſtation under the ſmiles of our mighty ſovereign. That great miniſter knows ſo well to allay the boiſterous ſwellings and animoſities of contending intereſts, that peace and unanimity ſeem now entirely to prevail over faction and diſcord; and may they long continue undiſturb'd by the ſeditious efforts of envy and ambition, in the Perſian court! A ſenſe too of duty to the ſupreme being ſeems more fervent upon our minds than uſual; though were we ever ſo forgetful of it at other times, our late deliverances would ſtrongly have demanded it from us at this. And here it may not be unentertaining to mention to thee, with what religious care a ſolemn feſtival was celebrated thereupon at Suſa. Forty days were ſet apart for feaſts and ſacrifices; during that time the court put on an extraordinary air of

ſplendor

ſplendor and chearfulneſs; but there were none of thoſe looſer revels, which commonly attend an exceſs of rejoicing. The moſt eminent of the Magi, from all the colleges in Perſia, were ſummoned to be preſent at the ſacrifices. The firſt morning the chief of the Magi, with a long train of his aſſociates, and the ſeveral miniſters of the religious ceremonies following him, * aſcended the higheſt of the mountains that environ Suſa to the north; clad in the ſacred veſtments, his † tiara interwoven with myrtle. He bowed twice towards the riſing ſun; then led the victim to the appointed ground, and there invok'd the god. ARTAXERXES and the Queen, XERXES, SOGDIANUS, OCHUS, and ARSITES, with all the other princes of the blood, were preſent at theſe holy rites. Each of the Magi ſung oraiſons in their turn to the great author of the world. But ARIMASPES, as chief in dignity, had juſtly the preference given him of hymning the praiſe of OROMASDES the beſt. "How, at his great "command, the wide expanſe was filled with beings; "how, at his word, the bright and radiant ſun firſt "ſpread his gilded rays to chear and gladden nature; "how the elements were diſpoſed by him, and the "ſeeds of all things ranged in order; how, by his "power, they are preſerv'd, and made the principles "of life and vegetation to all creatures, which, if he "withheld his ſalutary influences, would ſwarm at once "with death and contagion; how, by him alone, the "ſubtle fleeces of the air are kept untainted, and the

* Herod. Clio. c. 131. † Ibid. c. 132.

" earth free from impurities and infection: hence that " the whole expanſe is GOD, ſince he pervades the " whole, and by his power is preſent every where." The ſong being ended, you might have ſeen the awful lord of Aſia proſtrate on the earth, acknowledging a much higher power; a power upon whom he and all the princes of the earth depend. The inferior Magi ſacrificed in their order, according to their different inſtitutions; and joined at laſt in one general ſymphony of praiſe, while a hundred victims loſt their breath, to the eternal ſource of good. It was glorious to obſerve the long proceſſion as it aſcended up the ſteep; but more ſo, to behold the vaſt retinue, and ſplendid equipages ſpreading over the ſummits of the higheſt hills; the ſparkling enſigns of regality; the ſtately canopy blazing with the gems of Indus; the rich capariſons of the camels and horſes; and then to ſee the mightieſt ſatraps, together with their potent lord, deſcend from their ſeats of ſtate, bowing themſelves all at once before the greater ſovereign of the univerſe. When this ſolemn ceremony was ended, the whole company returned in the ſame regular order, in which they went. The proceſſion entred the ſpacious enclo-ſure of the royal palace at the gate of Memnon, where a ſumptuous entertainment was prepared. The king himſelf ſat at one table with the princes of the blood, waited upon by the great officers of the houſhold: at another the moſt conſiderable ſatraps, and the generals of the army: at a third the venerable body of the Magi; and at others, through the ſeveral ſtately apartments of the palace, the inhabitants of Suſa. During the

the entertainment the halls reſounded with the melodious airs of women, and the enchanting ſtrains of the moſt skilful muſicians. Nothing could be added to the ſplendor, order, and variety, that appeared on this occaſion. Thy friends wanted thee alone to complete their ſatisfaction. This only conſolation remains to them, that by undergoing a few temporary inconveniencies, thou art in the higheſt degree uſeful to thy king and thy country. Adieu.

From Suſa. L.

End of the firſt year of the war.

A. M. 3574. *3d year of the 87th Olymp.*

2d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I Received the diſpatch, which thou ſenteſt me by the courier HYDARNES; and acknowledge myſelf highly honoured, that I am thought worthy to partake in the ſecret counſels of our great monarch, as well as ſenſibly affected by the ſignal generoſity and tenderneſs, which he ſhews for his faithful ſlave. I proſtrate myſelf before the footſtool of his ſhining throne, and wiſh

him length of days; a bleſſing, which is ſure to give perpetuity to the happineſs of Perſia, and the only one, that remains to be added to the wiſdom of his government, the greatneſs of his ſoul, and the princely benevolence of his temper.

I obeyed the command laid upon me to retire during the height of the plague, and have found an hoſpitable retreat in the iſland Salamis; but I fear, though my own ſafety is leſs endangered, I ſhall be neceſſarily ſlower in executing the king's orders, and tranſmitting accounts of Grecian affairs. If any delay ſhould happen, I hope it will not be imputed to my negligence, but to the inconveniencies of the times, and the difficulty of procuring intelligence here, through the caution of the magiſtrates.

Juſt before the plague broke out, the Peloponneſian army, under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, made a ſecond invaſion into Attica; they are now marched towards the mountain Larius, where the Athenians have ſilver mines. I believe the plan of the war will not be different from that of the laſt year; and this dreadful calamity takes away the flower of their citizens and ſoldiers, and ſo diſpirits the reſt, that PERICLES does not think it prudent to hazard the iſſue of a battle. In order however to make a diverſion, a ſquadron of 100 galleys is preparing to put to ſea, which he intends to command himſelf. His enemies incenſe the people againſt him (who were never more haraſſed and uneaſy) by ſaying, that the vaſt numbers he drew out of the country laſt year, encreaſe the contagion of the diſtemper. I gave the reaſons of

that

that meaſure in a former letter; and cannot help ſaying, that it is highly unjuſt and unfair, to charge him with all thoſe croſs accidents of fortune, which the moſt refined human prudence and forecaſt cannot prevent. It ſeems as unreaſonable as to aſſert, that the plague is owing to his contrivance. By going admiral in perſon, he either intends to preſerve his credit, and keep up the ſpirits of his countrymen by ſome remarkable exploit, or elſe to withdraw himſelf from the clamours of his enemies, till the fury of the diſeaſe is a little abated.

The reſemblance of the ſymptoms ſhew, that the plague is of the ſame ſtrange nature, as that which began in Ethiopia and Egypt, and afterwards ravaged the Perſian provinces.

Every other ſickneſs turns immediately to this, which generally kills in ſeven or eight days, after great pains and eruptions in all parts of the body, inſatiate thirſt, want of ſleep, and variety of circumſtances, which increaſe the natural terrors and uneaſineſs of death. It is very remarkable, that none who recover are ever ſeized with it a ſecond time; yet even in ſome of theſe it ſtrikes upon their ſenſes, effaces the memory of all paſſages of their lives, and makes them forget their neareſt relations. What is moſt ſurprizing is, that no certain remedies can be applied: a medicine that does good to one, is hurtful to another; and the care and cloſeſt attendance of the phyſician are as uſeleſs, as the utmoſt efforts of his art.

The air itſelf partakes of the malignity; the birds drop down, as they fly along the ſtreets; and the dead bodies, for want of interment, ſhare the ſame ſepulchre

with the brutes, and are caſt out in the public ſtreets, ſo many loathſom and moving ſpectacles of mortality. The greateſt part of the inhabitants of the country, who for want of other accommodations were forced to dwell in booths and huts ſet up in the public places, are liable to the greateſt inconveniencies. The living and the dead amongſt them lie confuſed in heaps, ſome in the agonies of death, others lifting up their hands to heaven, and imploring the divine aſſiſtance, and many gaſping round the fountains where they croud to quench their thirſt. Nay, what is almoſt incredible, a neglect of religion and the laws is introduced by the prevalence of this calamity; of the former, becauſe they ſee the plague deſtroys alike the pious and the wicked; of the latter, becauſe no one expects his life will laſt till legal juſtice overtakes him. Indeed nothing contributes more to the diſorderly condition they are in, than the want of proper regulations for removing, and attending the ſick, and burning the dead: and were they of an humour to ſubmit to any thing like reſtraint, it might preſerve them from the confuſion and miſery they now undergo. Such is the diſmal ſtate of affairs at Athens; to which no ſmall relief is brought by the arrival of HIPPOCRATES, the famous Coan phyſician; who is determined, though at the hazard of his life, to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the diſeaſed. This generoſity has ſo ſenſibly affected the people of Athens, that they reſolve to beſtow on him ſome illuſtrious mark of their eſteem and favour. I need not mention, that they honour him the more, for having refuſed the munificent offers of the great king, that he might be quite at liberty when Greece demanded his aſſiſtance. I can

I can aſſure thee, that the Athenians have no information yet of the Peloponneſian embaſſy; but PERICLES has agents in all parts, who will not fail to give him early notice of it. There is a remarkable ſtory of him, that upon giving in his accounts once to the people, in an article of 5 talents no particular ſervice was ſpecified. His enemies taking the advantage immediately inſiſted he ſhould explain it; to which he replied very readily, that this ſum was employed on a ſervice of great importance, which it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep ſecret. The people were ſatisfied and made no farther enquiry. It is generally ſuppoſed, that theſe 5 talents were laid out at Sparta to keep off a war, till the Athenians were better prepared for it. The Lacedæmonians have a fine opportunity, if they make the beſt uſe of this campaign; but I am told they are diſcontented with ARCHIDAMUS their general, who declared himſelf openly againſt the war, and is unwilling to engage his ſtate too far in it. Beſides nothing conſiderable can be done againſt the Athenians by land, and they always have a good fleet at ſea, to guard their coaſts, interrupt the commerce of their enemies, and prevent the defection of their allies. I ſend thee incloſed a liſt of the allies on both ſides, and the contributions they furniſh towards the war. The Athenians are abſolute maſters over theirs, whereas the ſeparate intereſts amongſt the Peloponneſians embarraſs their military operations for want of unanimity. Excuſe, potent miniſter, the diſmal ſcene of death and deſolation, which I ſet before thee in the former part of this diſpatch; but I might juſtly have been eſteemed inſenſible,

if

if the little I ſaw myſelf, and the large accounts I received from others, had made only a tranſient impreſſion. Compaſſion is a common tribute to the miſeries and infirmities, which human nature is expoſed to; and a generous mind like thine pays it willingly to the worſt of its foes. Much more then let the humbleſt ſervant of ARTAXERXES, the faithful CLEANDER, claim ſome ſhare of pity in his hazardous ſituation. But he repines not at his fate; he ſhould think it honourable to periſh in the ſervice of his maſter. He is thankful to OROMASDES for the life he ſtill enjoys, and refers the uncertain events of futurity to his overruling will. Adieu.

From Salamis. P.

Allies of the Athenians.

The Chians, Lesbians, Platæans, Corcyræans, moſt of the Acarnanians, Meſſenians, &c.

Allies of the Lacedæmonians.

All Peloponneſus, except Argos, and Achaia; the Megareans, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians and Anactorians.

LETTER XVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

WERE the ſweeteſt retirement a ſufficient aſylum from care, the Magi would be exempted from thoſe reflections, which prey upon the minds of unhappy mortals. We inhabit thoſe groves, which have been the manſions of the wiſe and virtuous by the appointment of ZOROASTRES, who bleſſed them with his abode;

and whoſe memory ſtill warms our breaſts with a noble enthuſiaſm. We point out in our pleaſed imagination the paths he trod, and the places he took moſt delight in: here, ſay we, within the ſpacious arch of this cave he penn'd his divine precepts; on the ſlope of yonder hill, or under the ſhade of that ancient cedar he repoſed himſelf, and while his eyelids ſhut out the piercing light, his ſoul was open to the milder influence of OROMASDES. He held an intercourſe with the heavenly bodies from the ſummit of this pyramid, or that mount, whoſe ſides are covered with odorous ſhrubs, that ſcarce afford a perplexed path to its top. The very air of this country is perfumed and of a purer draught; the ſky more ſerene and of a brighter azure; the proſpects beautiful and various, ſince nature is not only favourable to us, but has received all the improvement ſhe was capable of, without being diſguiſed by art. Immenſe wealth has been beſtowed on her cultivation, yet the richneſs of her dreſs ſeems to ariſe from the genius of the place. You are ſurprized at the elegance that appears, yet can ſee nothing but what bears a reſemblance to ſomething you have obſerved in rude nature; like a miſtreſs of a well ordered family, though ſhe receives you with the utmoſt delicacy and magnificence, it is with that eaſe, that ſhe ſeems not to be at any trouble, or to have been put out of her ordinary courſe for your entertainment.

Yet I muſt confeſs, amidſt theſe delightful ſcenes, ſacred to peace and the contemplation of everlaſting OROMASDES, I am not without ſome anxiety for your ſafety, O CLEANDER, when I conſider your hazardous

ſituation

ſituation for the ſervice of Perſia, and your zeal for that monarch, who outſhines all his predeceſſors in juſtice, who will not fail to reward the ſucceſs, which your zeal and penetration promiſes to our affairs. Your ſteady affection has gained you much confidence with the great, and your perfect knowledge of the language, intereſts, and politics of our enemies, no leſs than thoſe of Perſia, give great aſſurance to your friends, that you ſhall one day be recalled from your obſcurity to be raiſed high in the court of Suſa. Your merit to your country will meet with other recompence than the jealouſy of Greece generally affords her benefactors. The ſovereign of the Eaſt is too generous to ſuſpect rivalſhip in his faithful ſervants, and will look upon the influence you ſhall gain in the ſtates of Greece, as the greateſt teſtimony of your fidelity.

I ſometimes reflect on the worſt that can befal you, from the prying diſcernment of the people you converſe with, or thoſe who are jealous of your credit at the court; but the ſagacity of your prince will guard you from your domeſtick foes; and ſhould the popular violence of Athens make itſelf accountable for your death, Aſia would pour forth its numerous troops to revenge ſo baſe an indignity to the ſervant of ARTAXERXES. Perhaps you will think this lofty ſtrain proceeds more from the zeal of a Perſian, than my true ſentiments, ſince we have experienced that a numerous army, nay I might ſay numerous nations in arms, have been found unequal to the ſlender but well conducted power of thoſe ſmaller ſtates; our ſoldiers have been diſtreſſed and ſcattered, though equal in number to all the inhabitants of Greece.

But

But may I not hope, CLEANDER, that that inſinuating evil, luxury, the parent of all our ſhame and misfortunes, has at laſt found a place amongſt our enemies? Has not ſecurity, the reſult of ſucceſs, relaxed their ſevere morals, and introduced emaſculating pleaſures, to which alone they are obliged, for the advantages they gained over us? Are not theſe the Grecian refinements we hear ſo much of? Does not that boaſted ſuperiority in arts and politeneſs (from whence they brand all the world with the name of Barbarians) break out into extravagancy of dreſs, diet, and deportment? And has not by this time the unreſtrained populace, intoxicated with victory, miſtaken licentiouſneſs for liberty? Or is it poſſible, that a people ſo free and ſo ſucceſsful ſhould continue upon their guard againſt theſe worſt of foes? No certainly, CLEANDER, the Perſian luxury muſt be part of their acquiſitions, which like the fatal peſtilence, that occaſioned ſuch deſolation in this empire, paſs'd through Aſia into Greece, and now preys upon our foes, muſt take its laſt reſidence with them; a diſeaſe more deſtructive than the peſtilence, and which will baffle the skill of that haughty Coan phyſician, who, had he more lives than ever his art preſerved, would deſerve to forfeit them all in tortures for his inſolence to the world's greateſt monarch. I need not tell you (what I doubt not is the boaſt of every Greek) that when he was conjured to paſs over into Aſia, by a promiſe of that friendſhip which princes ſue for, and to ſhare in that wealth which is the tribute of three hundred provinces, he anſwered diſdainfully, he would not deſert his country to ſerve a Barbarian. Shame to the kingdom of CYRUS, that his ſucceſſors, before whom the

the mighty ſatraps proſtrate themſelves to the earth, and whoſe name is awful to half mankind, ſhould become the ſcorn of an ignoble Coan. But the Almighty has puniſhed him, by transferring that evil on his own country, which he refuſed to ſuppreſs in Perſia; which may teach us, that the worſhipers of OROMASDES are not forſaken, ſince, though he has denied ſucceſs to our arms, he has himſelf chaſtiſed the inſolence of our foes.

From Balch in Bactria. H.

LETTER XVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I Have been informed of thy riſing character not only from the chamberlain HYDASPES, but the common voice of fame; and am the more confirmed in the juſt expectations I had conceived of thee, from the late honour of thy letter. The wiſeſt legiſlators of Greece have generally made it one of their excellent laws, that the young men ſhould pay reſpect to the ſage inſtructions of their elders. But ſurely if this maxim may at any time be ſet aſide, it ought never to be more reverſed than in our correſpondence. For when I conſider the luſtre of thy parts, and the reach of thy knowledge, at a time of life, which brings few even to the exerciſe of reaſon; I amuſe myſelf with the agreeable thoughts of profiting by thy information; far, very far from imagining, that any thing, which falls from CLEANDER, can be of ſervice to ORSAMES. However, as I ſhall always be proud to ſhew every mark of regard

regard to a nobleman of your quality and hopes, I can aſſure thee, generous lord, that I think myſelf highly honoured by the particular and diſtinguiſhing proof, thou haſt granted me, of thy favour.

It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction I obſerve, how much thou canſt diſdain the oſtentation and luxury of the Perſian nobility; and rather employeſt thy ſelf in the uſeful purſuits of knowledge, than wandereſt in the deſtructive paths of intoxicating pleaſure. To ſay the truth, when I reflect on this particular, I admire thee for anticipating the experience without the infirmity of years, and moderating the fever of youth without loſing the true ſpirit of it. Thou haſt made it thy buſineſs, from the very earlieſt days of thy infancy, to acquaint thy ſelf with the religion, laws, and conſtitution of thy country; and art now travelling through other regions, to ſurvey the temper, cuſtoms, and policy of thoſe, who differ from us. Thy epiſtle from Babylon is ſufficient to convince me, thou art well qualified from thy curioſity and eagerneſs, to procure the exacteſt intelligence; from thy judgment and diſcretion, to ſelect the moſt intereſting circumſtances; from thy ingenuity and good ſenſe, to relate them in the moſt accurate manner; from thy prudence and ſagacity, to draw the beſt and moſt rational inferences from them all. I am extremely impatient to learn a few particulars of that extraordinary people the Egyptians; who inhabit a country, as remarkable for the polity of its laws, the wiſdom of its religion, and the knowledge of its prieſts, as for the trade of its cities, the grandeur of its buildings, and the fertility of its ſoil. When thou entereſt into that ſtore-

houſe

houſe of wealth and commerce, (for ſo it may be termed with juſtice) that repoſitory of all ſacred and profane ſcience, thou wilt be wrapt in pleaſure and aſtoniſhment, at the variety, not to ſay profuſion, of bleſſings, which art and nature have poured out, for the ſubſiſtence, convenience, and ornament of that happy nation. A man of thy underſtanding will find a ſecret delight in tracing out the ſteps of the great heroes of antiquity; he will be ſtudious of ſearching into the annals of their ſtory, and will meet with no ſmall entertainment in hearing of the victories and military virtue of SESOSTRIS, or the peaceful arts and government of OSIRIS. He will liſten with attention to the philoſophical precepts and dark oracles of the prieſts; he will inveſtigate the long records of lunar years, and unveil the myſterious ſyſtem of aſtronomy, and frame of nature, with much labour and toil. He will viſit their public edifices and the palaces of their kings, with admiration; and behold the temples of their gods with reverential regard. Thoſe ſtupendous works of antiquity, which ſtill exiſt there, can by no means eſcape the prying curioſity of his ſoul, or the careful diligence of his enquiries. He will view the pyramids and mauſoleums, which have been preſerved entire through a long courſe of centuries, the wonder of the world, with ſpeculations of a moral kind. He will look upon them, as erected by the moſt powerful princes of the earth for a memorial of their pride to future ages, and as intended rather for an amazing ſpectacle to the living, than as places of repoſe to the dead. He will conſider, that the founders of thoſe monuments cloſed up the laſt ſcene of their falſe greatneſs

greatneſs in life, by raiſing theſe altars to their vanity; and gave in death an example to mankind of the extreme littleneſs of mortal arrogance, by mingling their own duſt with ſo poor a ſhare of that earth, which once was not ſufficient to contain them.

The next period of thy journey leads thee into Greece, a country very different from that of Egypt, both in the qualities of its climate, and the manners of its people. Inſtead of the ſplendor and magnificence, which appears in the cities of the latter, thou wilt find a general turn to parſimony and frugality among the inhabitants of the former. Inſtead of the peace and unanimity, which exiſts under a monarchical government, the popular frame of the Grecian republics is continually ſhaken by domeſtic faction. Athens, through the extent and abundance of her trade, the induſtry and œconomy of her people, the wiſdom and courage of the great men ſhe has produced, hath for many years borne the principal ſway in their counſels. But the ſtates of Peloponneſus, ſomewhat envious of her authority, have at length determined to deſtroy it. A violent peſtilence, and a ſtrong oppoſition to the meaſures of PERICLES, their chief adviſer in this war, are at the ſame time broke out among the citizens. PERICLES, with no other reſtraint on the caprice of his countrymen, than what his own diſcretion can command, withſtands the clamours of party, and the ſtouteſt efforts of ſedition. However, he cannot hold it long; for I eaſily conjecture, from the preſent poſture of affairs, that his enemies will never leave him, till they have wreſted the reins of power from

his hands. But more of this, when I ſhall enjoy the honour of thy company and converſation in the town of Athens, which is the place of my reſidence and buſineſs.

In the mean time give me leave to ſay, that I wiſh the improvement thou receiveſt from thy travels, may be equal to thy laudable thirſt after knowledge: at leaſt I know the reſult of them will, one day, be applied to the glory and ſecurity of our ſovereign and the Perſian empire. Thus, inſtead of meanly depending on the noble actions of thy anceſtors, as the only merit thou canſt boaſt, thy reputation will be as much ſuperior to theirs, as thy virtues are ſuperior. By this means thou wilt reflect a luſtre on the fame of thy fathers; thou wilt become an honour to thyſelf and family; an ornament and ſervice to thy friends and thy country. Adieu.

C.

I had almoſt forgotten to tell thee, that by the goodneſs of the king I am permitted to retire to Salamis, during the infection of the plague.

LETTER XIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THY accounts of the marriage at ECBATANA, and thankſgiving ſacrifice on the hills of Suſa, were ſo kindly and agreeably written, that I ſhould appear inexcuſably negligent in the cultivation of that friendſhip, which I eſteem an honour to my character, if I

ſuffered

ſuffered a want of equal materials to plead my excuſe for not anſwering them. It is needleſs to trouble thee with a long relation of the melancholy diſtreſs of the Athenians; ſince, beſides the exact information thou haſt already met with, I am afraid it would prove a very melancholy return to the pleaſing cheerfulneſs of thy letters. But if pleaſures of a private nature, in which thy friend is concerned, can add any thing to the ſatisfaction thou receiveſt from thoſe of a public one, I will give thee a deſcription of my retirement into Salamis, during the contagion of the plague; and the manner in which I employ my leiſure hours. My old patron PHILEMON, through a laudable zeal in the ſervice of his country, reſolves to abide in the city, though at the peril of his own life. In the mean while, he has entruſted me with the charge of his family, and has ſent us to his country-ſeat in this place, which is ſituated but a few furlongs from the coaſt of Attica.

Salamis is a ſmall iſland of about two hundred and twenty ſtadia in circumference, remarkable for a complete victory gained over the fleet of XERXES by the conduct of THEMISTOCLES. It contains within that little compaſs a moſt ſurprizing variety of hills and vales, rocks and plains, rivers and meadows, fruitful fields and ſpacious lawns. Theſe are diverſified with many beautiful villas, belonging to the principal citizens and magiſtrates of the town of Athens. Several plantations of fruit and foreſt trees, all ſtrangers to the ſoil and climate of Perſia, are here cultivated by the skill of the careful inhabitant; and contribute in a great meaſure to the romantic air and confuſion of the

landſcape. On the ſummit of a lofty mountain, in the very middle of the iſland, you are preſented with the nobleſt and moſt extenſive proſpect in the world, One view to the north, (to ſay nothing of the pleaſant country lying at your feet) commands Megara and Athens, with the ſhips in the Piræan harbour, through a conſiderable tract of land into the territories of Bœotia. Towards the ſouth, the cities of Argos, Mycenæ, and Epidaurus riſe full before your eyes. To the eaſt, you are ſoon ſtruck with thoſe numerous iſles, called the Cyclades, which appear like ſo many pointed rocks diſperſed over the Ægean ſea; and to the weſt, you ſurvey the Iſthmus, with the ſtately buildings of Corinth. The houſe and gardens of my friend are plain and homely, unadorned with the pride of eaſtern magnificence, and improved by the Attic elegance of their owner. I frequently compare them with thoſe of Alcinous in the Grecian Homer; and find the ſame ſimplicity in both, free from the falſe ornament and pomp of luxury. My time has of late been a good deal taken up (when the buſineſs of the king would permit me) in the peruſal of the Grecian poets and hiſtorians. As thy curioſity will perhaps make thee deſirous of being acquainted with their names and writings, I will fill this diſpatch with the cleareſt account I have been able to obtain of them.

For this purpoſe I ſhall begin with thoſe, who have done moſt honour to the art of poetry; ſince it was originally the chief vehicle, by which the knowledge of government, religion, or philoſophy was conveyed to the dark underſtandings of mankind. The firſt

ounders of the fabulous theology are uncertain. LINUS, ORPHEUS, and MUSÆUS are remembered with ſome general marks of eſteem, even in theſe ages of Greece. But their hiſtory is too uncertain and fictitious to bear a ſerious relation. We muſt deſcend therefore immediately to HOMER, who was at once the firſt and greateſt poet of antiquity. The ſubject of his admired performance is the ſiege of Troy, and the adventures of the Grecian heroes, particularly of ULYSSES, on their returning, after a long abſence, to their native kingdoms. He is ſaid to have flouriſhed between two and three hundred years after the deſtruction of that potent empire; and the Greeks retain ſuch an high veneration for his memory, that many towns ſtill contend for the honour of his birth. Smyrna carries the faireſt title of them all; in confidence whereof ſhe has erected a temple to his name, and the people worſhip him with the ſacred rites of adoration. Conſider him in his perſon and fortune, he is repreſented as a ſtroling indigent bard. Conſider him in the qualities of his mind, poſſeſſed of every natural and acquired endowment human nature is capable of, it is impoſſible to refuſe him that reverence and regard, which is ſo juſtly due to the "father of the Grecian poets." At the ſame time I cannot be of their opinion, who aſcribe the riſe of all military and civil policy, religion and learning, to the genius of HOMER. It is enough to tranſmit his praiſe to the lateſt poſterity, that the warmth and ſpirit of his expreſſion is equal to the ſtrength and loftineſs of his thought, and the boldneſs of his imagination to the fertility of it.

To this give me leave to add, that the beauty and contrivance of his fables, the muſic and variety of his numbers, and the regular compoſition of the whole, have raiſed the dignity of epic poetry in its infancy, if not at its very birth, to an inimitable period of perfection; inſomuch that futurity ſhall wonder, without being able to arrive at it. HESIOD was a native of Cuma in Ætolia, and removed ſoon after his birth to Aſcra in Bœotia. His writings are eſteemed next in antiquity and value to thoſe of HOMER. Some have wantonly made them contemporaries, and pretend to ſay, that HESIOD got the better of HOMER in a poetical diſpute. But this is highly improbable, ſince it may be confeſs'd, without detracting from his real merit, that HESIOD is by no means his equal. Beſides, the nature of their talents is as different, as the ſtyle of their poems. The one excels more in ſublimity than in accuracy; is leſs indebted to art than to nature; more engaged in the tumults of war, than the quiet of retirement. The other is rather ſtudious of plainneſs than ſublimity; leſs fond of ornament, than propriety; more addicted to the images of a rural life, than the buſy ſcenes of a public one. The ſimplicity of his parts, and the agreeable ſoftneſs of his diſpoſition, are evident from his choice of a ſtile between loftineſs and meanneſs, which is well ſuited to the undiſturbed tranquillity of his ſtation and temper. His ſucceſs in this kind of poetry is ſufficient to juſtify his claim to the ſecond rank, without ever placing him in competition with HOMER for the firſt. They tell an odd ſtory of him, which ſhews him to have been a man of either humour or caprice.

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For accidentally as he one day over-heard a potter at his daily labour ſinging ſome of his verſes with an ill accent and cadence, he threw himſelf down on the poor man's brittle property; at which the fellow immediately cried out, "why do you ſpoil my work?" "becauſe, anſwered HESIOD, you ſpoil mine."

ALCÆUS excelled in a different way both from HOMER and HESIOD; but was more deſirous of acquiring reputation in the capacity of a ſoldier and a patriot, than in that of a poet. His pretenſions however to the two former are not ſo well grounded as his pretenſions to the latter. For as to his military glory, it appears, that in a battle between the Athenians and Mytileneans he fled ſuddenly from the engagement, and diſhonourably left his ſhield in the poſſeſſion of an enemy. And as to his zeal in the ſervice of his country, notwithſtanding his violent oppoſition to the meaſures of PITTACUS, the prudent tyrant of Mytilene, he was ambitious of aſpiring to that arbitrary command, which he blamed in the hands of another. All his writings are in the lyric ſtrain, and compoſed in a very fine meaſure peculiar to himſelf. He has happily united cloſeneſs with magnificence, ſpirit with correctneſs, and the utmoſt ſtrength of judgment with the warmth of fancy; and though his muſe is generally employed in matters of love and gallantry, yet he always ſhews himſelf fit for ſubjects of a nobler nature. Since I have mentioned ALCÆUS, I ſhould not omit his famous contemporary SAPPHO, who flouriſhed in Mytilene about the forty fourth olympiad, and was a woman of no great beauty, but of infinite delicacy

and wit; enough one ſhould have thought to atone for her other defects. She diſdained the moſt paſſionate addreſſes of ALCÆUS; and upon his whiſpering to her one day, "that he had ſomething to tell her, but was "aſhamed of it," ſhe anſwered with a juſt indignation, "that if he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of it, he "would not conceal it." Her cruelty to him is the more remarkable, becauſe ſhe was much enamour'd of one PHAON, whoſe unkindneſs in leaving her, as it was the occaſion of her fineſt performances, ſo it was the cauſe of her death. She had a wonderful vein of inſinuation and ſoftneſs, which, even now, gives her writings ſuch a powerful ſway over the tendereſt affections of human nature. There is ſomething ſo graceful and unaffected in her expreſſion and ſentiments, ſo ſmooth and harmonious in her numbers, that the title of "tenth muſe," beſtowed on her by the common voice of Greece, is no more than a due teſtimony of reſpect to the merit of her poetry.

ARCHILOCUS was a native of Paros, and held in eſteem as a poet, about the ſame time with SAPPHO and ALCÆUS. He generally paſſes among the Greeks for the inventor of a peculiar meaſure, called Iambic verſe; but a man of learning aſſured me, that there is a piece of HOMER's, named Margites, ſtill extant, that proves the contrary. His way of writing is ſtrong and nervous, ſhort and pointed, witty and ſatyrical, but tinctured with ſo much gall and malice, that he himſelf profeſſes, "he could ſpare neither friend nor foe." They tell a remarkable ſtory of him, that one LYCAMBES having offered him his daughter in marriage, and afterwards

afterwards refuſed to give her, ARCHILOCUS laſhed them with ſuch rancour and ſeverity, that he and his daughter both hang'd themſelves.

Some years after liv'd ANACREON of Teos in Ionia, a man of eaſe and pleaſure, dividing his time betwixt the amuſements of wine, love, and poetry. He was ſo profeſſed an enemy to care and buſineſs, that when his patron POLYCRATES of Samos made him one day a preſent of five talents, it diſturbed his ſleep; ſo he carried it back again the next, and told him, "that how "conſiderable ſoever the ſum might be, it was not a "reward equal to the trouble of preſerving it." His writings are agreeable to the freedom of his behaviour; ſo that he draws a very lively picture of his own character in the ſeveral touches of nature, that are to be found in his odes and ſonnets. We may compare his muſe to his miſtreſs; ſhe ſeems airy, looſe, and negligent, and is dreſs'd up with more art, the more ſhe hides the appearance of it. He lived eighty-five years in one continued ſeries of health and retirement. To make his death conformable to his life, he is ſaid to have been choak'd with a grape-ſtone in his wine.

I ſhall not trouble thee with any memoirs of ALCMAN, BACCHYLIDES, IBYCUS, STESICHORUS, and SIMONIDES; though they excelled each in their different way, and the laſt of them hath particularly recorded, in verſe, the four fights of MARATHON, THERMOPYLÆ, SALAMIS, and PLATÆA. But of all thoſe, who contributed to ſupport the grandeur of the lyric muſe, PINDAR muſt be mentioned with moſt regard. His poems were compoſed in honour of ſeveral conquerors,

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at the Iſthmian, Pythian, Nemeæan, or Olympic games; and give us a notion of the higheſt tranſport and elevation, to which this art can be advanced. His deſigns are ſo vaſt, his ſtyle ſo daring, his thoughts ſo ſtriking and uncommon, that it requires as much attention to read him, as to imitate others. He has often been cenſured as too unbridled and irregular; yet this is not the leaſt of his beauties, ſince an ode is intended more to raiſe our fancy, than to inform our judgment. It is adapted to the fire and majeſty of PINDAR; his imagination is on the wing; he cannot ſtay for words to expreſs himſelf methodically; he uſes the boldeſt ſort of painting; he gives us a general likeneſs of his hero, without finiſhing the features. Thus has he triumphed over the labours of art, and extorted this approbation from mankind, that he alone is the "perfect and unrival'd "maſter of the Grecian Lyre." The Athenians pride themſelves to this day in an act of uncommon generoſity, which they performed towards this admired poet. His own countrymen the Thebans having fin'd him in a large ſum of money, for the particular regard he pays every where to Athens in the courſe of his odes, and his neglect of Thebes, that was his native city, the people of Athens honourably diſcharged the fine, and proved themſelves not unworthy of the great eſteem, which PINDAR had conceived for them.

I ſhould proceed in the next place to the dramatic poetry of Athens, and the writers of hiſtory: however as to the former, thou wilt forgive me, if I ſay nothing of it at preſent, ſince it really ſeems ſo interwoven with the frame of the Athenian conſtitution, that an account of it would

would hardly be ſo proper for the peruſal of a friend, as of a miniſter of ſtate: and as to the latter, I muſt delay the little materials I have collected upon that ſubject, to another letter. But I detain thee too long from the preſence of thy prince, whoſe affection thou haſt ſecur'd by the duty of thy obedience; and whoſe bounty, by the zeal of thy ſervice. Adieu.

From Salamis. C.

LETTER XX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS the Mage.

THE miſeries of the eaſtern world, whilſt the plague laſted in thoſe parts, much engaged my attention and my pity; and it ſeemed, as if the angry gods had intended by a variety of evils to extirpate the race of mortals from the earth. But ſure their hotteſt vengeance was reſerved for theſe devoted regions, and is now inflicted in the moſt complicated calamities, that ever have befallen human kind. For that haſty and inviſible deſtroyer, which had ravaged the Perſian empire, begins now to ſpread itſelf through theſe parts, at a time when civil diſcord infeſts the Grecian ſtates, and depopulates their moſt flouriſhing communities, worſe than ever the Barbarian would have done. Who ſhall deſcribe the terrors of the war? the ruins and devaſtations of many large and fruitful diſtricts, which ſuffer not more from hoſtile fury, than from the policy of their own native inhabitants? By them are the moſt cultivated plains converted into ſolitary deſerts; while the bare neceſſaries, to ſupport a lingering life of miſery, are depoſited

depoſited in the principal cities only; beſides the numberleſs hardſhips, which are undergone at Athens, while the whole people of Attica are pent up within the narrow bounds of that ſingle metropolis. With theſe and many more circumſtances of their diſtreſs, the plague, which daily increaſes, muſt, among ſuch a ſwarm of unhappy families, make a far more terrible havock here than it has elſewhere done. Theſe miſeries, though I myſelf by leave of our moſt gracious monarch enjoy a ſecurer ſtation at Salamis, yet fill my mind with that confuſion and medley of paſſions, as if from a rock I beheld the toſſings of a tempeſtuous ocean, and ſaw the ſhattered barks breaking in pieces amidſt the mercileſs ſhelves and waves. But ſay, O moſt venerable SMERDIS, who in thoſe ſequeſter'd ſhades ſacred to everlaſting peace, enjoyeſt the friendly intercourſe of ſuperior beings! O thou, whoſe hallowed ſoul, unruffled by the ſtorm of paſſions, and pure from every guilt, is a manſion for the great OROMASDES; OROMASDES, whoſe calmeſt influence raiſes there no frantick tranſports; no unnatural emotions: ſay, O thou wiſe and good! why is ARIMANIUS permitted to diſturb and invert the order of OROMASDES's works? Whether from his influence, that the mind of man is ſo eaſily perverted, and refuſes to be under the guidance of thoſe principles, which alone could direct it aright. Is it, alas! by the inſtigations of this evil demon, that it turns aſide from the paths of virtue, and neglecting the true ſcheme of rational life, perplexes itſelf with many vain and painful deſires, till it is at length bewildered in an endleſs labyrinth of hurtful purſuits? And is it then, that in conſequence of this depravity ſo far owing

owing to his own malignant influences, that the curſt ARIMANIUS is afterwards permitted to exhauſt his utmoſt malice in puniſhing thoſe by all kind of natural evils, whom he himſelf hath ſeduced and rendered obnoxious to them? Will the good and gracious OROMASDES ſuffer this to be? Teach me, O thou holy ſage, to ſolve theſe difficulties; inſtruct me better, if it be lawful, in the circumſtances of our nature, and ſhew me how amidſt all theſe intricacies, to maintain the power and juſtify the goodneſs of OROMASDES. Theſe indeed are ſpeculations, which ill befit me, and to which I have little time to attend in my preſent ſituation and employment. But the miſeries, which are daily repreſented to me, poſſeſs my mind with ſuch ſolemn gloom, that I cannot forbear often to indulge the anxious wandrings of my own thoughts therein. It is in thoſe peaceful manſions, where you, O venerable SMERDIS, inhabit, that the mind is at liberty to examine into theſe abſtruſer doctrines; and enlightened by the eternal OROMASDES, may reflect upon itſelf the lively image of his beloved emanation, truth. Happy were thoſe minutes, and I ſhall always rank them among the happieſt of my whole life, which I ſpent with you in divine converſation, when I travelled into Bactria. How tranſported do I call to mind the hours, when I was permitted to mingle among the learned crowd, and lay at your feet, while you preſided in the ſchools of the Magi! But O! how inexpreſſible is the remembrance of ſome few happy times, when with you I wandered in thoſe bliſsful paths, which heavenly contemplation ſeems before all others to have choſen for her peculiar abodes. It grieves me, faithful SMERDIS, that

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any anxiety ſhould diſcompoſe you amidſt thoſe delightful ſcenes, much more any about my ſafety. It was not, thou knoweſt, through baſe and ſelfiſh motives that I engaged in his employment; and truly the advantages I can hope to reap from it were but a poor recompence for all the hazards and difficulties I am continually beſet with, were it life, or the vainer enjoyments of life I had ſet any extraordinary value upon. But a true zeal for the ſervice of the Perſian monarch, to whom I am bound in the ſtricteſt allegiance from the perſonal regards I owe him, has more than any other conſideration attach'd me to his intereſts. Whatever then be ordained my fate, I ſhall endeavour with the greateſt compoſure to ſubmit to it. For that being, whom I have learnt among you to adore with a purer worſhip, that immaterial and inviſible, call him OROMASDES or whatever other name ſhall beſt expreſs him to us, however clouds and darkneſs at preſent are about him, or at leaſt involve our weaker underſtandings, cannot, I am perſuaded, but be both powerful, juſt, and good; neither will I believe, that he, who ſincerely ſeeks to pleaſe him by acting virtuouſly, will in the event of things be neglected by him. In the midſt of theſe calamities at Athens, the famous HIPPOCRATES is arriv'd there, a man ſo eminent for his excellent skill and ſucceſs in phyſick, that the greateſt king thought no price too high to purchaſe him at; a man, whoſe upright integrity, undaunted conſtancy, and love of the Grecian name endears him to the Athenians beyond their greateſt benefactors, as his forementioned excellencies raiſe their eſteem and veneration for him, like as if their god APOLLO or

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ÆSCULAPIUS was come down among them. And though it were preſumption almoſt in any thing to differ from thee, (and ſure thy zeal for the Perſian glory, and extreme veneration of the great king can never be too much applauded,) yet ſay, O gentle SMERDIS, can ſuch a man deſerve ſo ſevere a cenſure? The refuſal is indeed aſtoniſhing; ſuch wealth, ſuch power, ſuch intereſt with the greateſt monarch of the world, were a bribe almoſt for the ſtricteſt virtue. But HIPPOCRATES can all this withſtand: amazing obſtinacy a Perſian would call it, ſince the ſubjects of the great king have learnt to fall before his throne, and proſtrate themſelves at his foot-ſtool as to the ſhrine of ſome god; and I doubt not but cuſtom has ſo well reconcil'd to them a government, which the Greeks call ſlavery, that they do this with the heartieſt veneration for their ſovereign; and where ſo excellent a prince preſides, this may be perhaps the moſt perfect form of government. But as the genius's and cuſtoms of countries vary, of courſe the manners of men muſt differ; and a diverſity of circumſtances will make that in one inſtance laudable, which were quite otherwiſe in another. To be born, educated, and converſe in the free ſtates of Greece muſt neceſſarily form the mind to principles of liberty, and ſettle in it very oppoſite notions of what is great and virtuous, to thoſe a Perſian will from his education imbibe. It has done ſo all along while Greece retain'd its priſtine glory; and can there then be a more illuſtrious example of Grecian virtue, can the love of one's country be carried higher, or can inflexible honour and unbiaſs'd greatneſs of ſoul be ſhewn in any inſtance that exceeds this?

From Salamis. L.

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LETTER XXI.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER at Salamis. From Saba in Arabia.

LEAVING Babylon we fell down the king's river into the Tigris, the cataracts in this part of it being lately removed at the repreſentation of ſome eminent merchants; and were conducted in one of the royal galleys to the Perſian gulf, and landed upon Arabia the happy at the Portus Itamus, the firſt haven beyond the mountains, which divide that diſtrict from the ſandy deſerts. As ſoon as we came into the Sabæan territories, the whole country ſeem'd one univerſal altar ever breathing forth ſpontaneous incenſe to the heavens. The ſweet effluvia are wafted by the winds, and ſpread a grateful Fragrance for many miles beyond the coaſts. And even the ſhores are covered with caſſia and other odoriferous plants, that perfume the air with a ſtrange variety of healthful and pleaſant ſcents.

The rich product of this happy land brought to my mind the fable of MYRRHA's transformation, and her deteſtable paſſion for her father CINYRAS. The fictions indeed of a poetical fancy are commonly as arbitrary as the ſtories of the vulgar are incredible and ridiculous; and yet many traditionary fables, however wild and improbable they appear, are capable of being traced up to ſome very diſtant origin of truth. And thus, I was not a little ſurprized being told by a native of this country, that there is a people in the furtheſt limits of the other Arabia bordering upon Syria, whoſe deſcent is by the

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moſt ancient and beſt warranted records of hiſtory, deduced from an unnatural mixture of the ſame kind; they inhabit upon the river Arnon, and their chief city is Areopolis. The country, as we entered it farther and came nearer to Saba, ſtill grew more raviſhing, as well to the eye as the other ſenſes. * We ſaw in our way ſeveral wild aſſes and oſtriches of a large ſize, though both are more common in the deſerts beyond the mountains. The firſt are exceeding fleet, but the way of hunting them is by horſemen placed up and down in different parts of the chace; for the creature, after having run ſome time, will ſtop and ſtand ſtill, but regains ground again ſo faſt, that no ſingle horſe can keep up after it. Their fleſh is eſteemed by the luxurious in eating much nicer than that of veniſon. The oſtrich is not to be taken, becauſe when her feet fail her, ſhe can uſe her wings to eſcape. The ſpacious plains, that lie between the mountains, are garniſhed with the freſheſt herbage, and laid out by nature in the moſt beautiful garden, where the fertile ſoil teams with aromatic gums and the party-colour'd bloſſoms of odoriferous ſpices. The ſides of the mountains ſtill exceed the valleys in plenteouſneſs. There riſe the cleareſt ſprings, which, after they have run among the hills, ſupply refreſhing rivers to water the plains beneath. The hanging groves of palm-trees on the ſteepeſt declivities ſhade the delighted traveller, while the impending rays of a more genial ſun ripen the vegetable juices, and amidſt the pregnant minerals digeſt the rich ſeeds of

* Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri. Ed. Francof. Lib. prim. p. 256.

gold. * Saba, the ancient metropolis of this happy land, is ſituated on an eaſy aſcent: the mountains, that ſurround it, riſe and fall in ſhapes the moſt pleaſingly ſtriking and romantic, diſcovering the ſummits of other hills beyond them, which are ſeen in proſpect from the royal town, till the eye is loſt in an undiſtinguiſhed maſs of fainter riſings, blended by their diſtance amidſt tranſparent clouds. I call it the royal town, for a ſort of kingly government ſtill ſubſiſts in it; † nor have the Arabians of this diſtrict been ever ſubjected to a foreign power, as the Arabians in general are rather friends and allies to the Perſian empire, as they were before to the Aſſyrian, than vaſſals and tributaries to either; though upon ſome occaſions they have courted by preſents the favour of our mighty monarchs. The riches and grandeur of this place beſpeak it to have been the ſeat of many potent princes. The palace, the citadel, and the ruins of a library, ſhew the moſt expenſive ſtate of royal magnificence. The portico's of their publick buildings are overlaid with gold; but the ſplendor of ſome of their private houſes is incredible. A monument is ſtill ſhewn in an ancient temple, where they ſay is repoſed the ſacred duſt of a queen, once the wonder and glory of the Eaſt. A queen, whoſe genius was equal to the higheſt things, and her learning and knowledge proportionate to her genius. Under her reign Arabia was a powerful and flouriſhing kingdom; § an epoch of its greatneſs more certain

* Agathargidis Periplo, p. 63.

† Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. initio. Herod. Thal. c. 97. ibid. 91. & 7. ibid. Lib. 3. c. 3.

§ Syncell.

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than the ancient times they boaſt, of their king's reigning in Babylonia before the days of NINUS. She rul'd with wiſdom and equanimity, beloved by her ſubjects, and regarded by all as their common parent: her court was a college of learned men, where all were generouſly received, and met with ſuitable rewards, who made any uſeful improvements in arts and ſciences, or new diſcoveries in the knowledge of nature. Among other improvements * the Arabians are eſteemed to be skilled in augury and ſoothſaying. Whether there is any certainty in this ſcience, it belongs not to me to diſpute. Our great CYRUS is reported to have paid a religious regard to augury. 'Tis not improbable, that as the warmth and pleaſantneſs of the climate will allow them to lie out all the year in the fields, with their flocks and cattle, which in ſeveral parts of this country they are great dealers in, they may have made more obſervations than others, upon the different flights and motions, the various ſounds and voices, of the fowls of the air. My ſhort ſtay here, in paſſing through the country, will not permit me to make a ſtrict enquiry into their religious doctrines and ceremonies. † But the chief objects of their worſhip are the ſun and moon, which they name in their language Urotalt and Alilat; and to Urotalt is daily offered frankincenſe and myrrh in his temple at Saba. § They pay likewiſe a religious regard

* Cicero, de Divin. Lib. 1. c. 42. † Herod. Thal. c. 8. Philoſtorg. in Phot. Strabo, & Theophraſt.

§ Δῆλοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ Βάρβαροι διαφερόντως τιμήσαντες τὰς αὐτῶν νομοθέτας, ψυχὰς γὰρ ἀθανάτους κατὰ Πλάτωνα καταλιπόσας τὸν ὑπερκόσμιον τόπον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τόνδε τὸν τάφαρον καὶ σώματα ἀναλαβούσας

regard to the ſouls of their moſt eminent lawgivers and benefactors, upon a perſuaſion, which has pretty generally prevailed throughout the world, and is a principle of the philoſophy of the Sabian Magi, that thoſe excellent perſons were benevolent demons, who from a ſuperior happy ſtate deſcended into mortal bodies, and were contented to ſubmit to all the inconveniencies and evils of human life, for the benefit and advantage of mankind.

Thy letter, CLEANDER, has juſt reached me, in which thou conceiveſt too high an opinion of my parts and improvements. But however incapable I am of anſwering thy expectations, or following thy excellent rules for the direction of my travels, I am glad thou encourageſt me to unboſom to thee ſuch trivial obſervations, as a variety of new objects will naturally ſuggeſt; which to a young traveller, when the fancy is heated, and his thoughts diſtracted with repeated novelties, is next to the pleaſure he took in ſeeing the things themſelves. I rejoice that thou art removed to Salamis, and that our excellent monarch has ſuch a tender regard for his able and faithful miniſters.

Adieu. L.

LETTER XXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

MY laſt letters, noble ſcribe, contained a faithful account of the miſerable ſtate of Athens, under

ἀναλαβέσας — ὑπολαμβάνουσι—Βραχμάνες τε σύμπαντες—ἐθεολόγησαν ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐκείνων· Χαλδαῖοι τε καὶ Ἀράβιοι οἱ καλούμενοι Εὐδαίμονες. Clem. Alexan. Strom. Lib. 1.

the

the afflicting circumſtances of a war and peſtilence united to diſtreſs them. The poſture of their affairs, ſince I wrote, has received no alteration, but what encreaſes their diſcontent, and adds to their misfortunes. Beſides the continuance of the plague, the operations of this ſummer's campaign were not much in their favour. PERICLES has been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Epidaurus, and is returned home with his ſquadron, after waſting the coaſts of Peloponneſus, which is the only damage their enemies have received from this expedition. News is ſince come, that the ſiege of Potidæa goes on very ſlowly, the army before that place being much weakened, as well by the ſallies of the garriſon, as by the plague, which a late reinforcement from Athens brought among them. The Peloponneſian army did not ſtay long in the territories of Attica; for hearing that PERICLES was ravaging their country, and being apprehenſive of infection from the plague, they retired home, and are now diſperſed into their reſpective cities. The Lacedæmonians are preparing to invade the iſland Zacynthus. The party oppoſite to PERICLES take advantage of his ill ſucceſs at Epidaurus, to incenſe the people againſt him, who expected he would have made their domeſtic grievances more tolerable, by extending their power and reputation abroad. CLEON accuſes him in every aſſembly, in his inſolent and declamatory harangues, as the ſole cauſe of the miſeries of Greece. He charges him with having involved his country in an expenſive war, purely for his own intereſt, and the preſervation of his own authority; and then waſting the public treaſure in fruitleſs expeditions,

and ſuffering their enemies to inſult them at their gates, through cowardice and imprudence in the conduct of it. Another piece of ſlander is ſpread about, relating to a decree of the Athenians againſt Megara, which prohibits all commerce between the two cities, makes it capital for any native of Megara to be ſeen in the dominions of Athens, and enjoins the generals of the republic, to make an annual invaſion of their territories. This ſevere decree the Lacedæmonians demanded to have reverſed; which PERICLES ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, recriminating upon the Megareans for harbouring their revolted ſlaves, and murdering an Athenian herald. However, it is confidently affirmed here, that he promoted this affair with no other view, than to revenge an inſult put upon his miſtreſs ASPASIA by ſome young Megareans, who ſtole away two of her ſlaves. PERICLES and his friends juſtify his meaſures at large, againſt all theſe accuſations. They repreſent, "that whoever conſiders the ſituation of "affairs in Greece, muſt be convinced, that the war "wanted no incendiary to ſet it on foot, ſince it owes "its riſe to a very natural cauſe, the jealouſies of La"cedæmon and Peloponneſus at the grandeur "of Athens; particularly of the former, as they "thought it had riſen upon the ruins of theirs; that "the Athenians had paid more regard even to the lite"ral ſenſe of treaties than their enemies, who, before "the war broke out, required them to ſatisfy the com"plaints of the Corinthians and Megareans without "farther debate; though it was expreſsly ſtipulated "by an article of the laſt treaty between the Grecian "ſtates,

" ſtates, that all controverſies ſhould be referred to ar-
" bitrators, to be determined in an amicable way, be-
" fore either party had recourſe to arms. That many
" of the Lacedæmonians demands, though not in
" themſelves unjuſt, were yet rendered improper to be
" granted, by the imperious manner, in which they
" were urged; and that a tame and ready ſubmiſſion to
" them would have been looked upon as a tacit con-
" feſſion, in the Athenians, of weakneſs and puſilla-
" nimity. They vindicate the management of the war,
" by laying it down as a clear maxim, that every ſtate
" ſhould exert its natural ſtrength in carrying one on;
" and that the Athenian ſuperiority in a naval force
" makes it neceſſary to form ſuch a plan of operations,
" as is moſt ſuitable to the ſea ſervice. That the Pe-
" loponneſian invaſion of Attica can never be of long
" duration, becauſe the country furniſhes no ſub-
" ſiſtence for the forces; and it would be a raſh at-
" tempt to beſiege ſo ſtrong and well garriſoned a city
" as Athens. That in the mean time their coaſts are
" expoſed, their commerce ruined, and their ſquadrons
" not able to reſiſt thoſe of the Athenians."

This is the ſum of the charge on one hand, and the defence on the other. Thoſe, who exert themſelves with moſt addreſs, in behalf of PERICLES, are his nephew ALCIBIADES, a young man of an aſpiring diſpoſition, and his old friend EPHIALTES the orator. CLEON, HYPERBOLUS, and TOLMIDES, men of low birth, but ſome popular talents, are the great oppoſers of his adminiſtration. And though I am far from thinking it faultleſs, yet in the preſent diſpute, I believe

moſt argument will be found on his ſide, and the greateſt variety of ſcandal, with the moſt plentiful ſtock of railing, on that of his adverſaries. However, things here are in a very fluctuating condition. At preſent the people ſhew themſelves ſo uneaſy at the continuance of the plague and the war together, that in the laſt aſſembly, ambaſſadors were ſent to Lacedæmon, to declare that they were ready to accept peace on any reaſonable conditions. But I hear the laſt letters from thence, give no hopes of obtaining it. I ſhall conclude this diſpatch with mentioning, that HIPPOCRATES of Cos was ordered, by a late decree, to be initiated in the ſacred myſteries, to be preſented with a crown of gold, to enjoy all the privileges of an Athenian citizen, and to be maintained at the public charge for the reſt of his life.

Such, potent miniſter, are the rewards of virtue amongſt the Grecians; ſuch the incitements to deſpiſe danger in the ſervice of their country! A crown, beſtowed by the free voice of the ſtate; a ſtatue, erected to their honour; or a mark of reſpect, ſhewn to their poſterity, are ſufficient recompences for the moſt illuſtrious actions, and allowed to none but perſons of diſtinguiſhed merits. Whilſt they can attain theſe, they deſpiſe the treaſures of the Eaſt, and account it more honourable to be a native of Athens or Sparta, though upon the level with their fellow citizens, than a ſatrap of Perſia, who has the ineſtimable diſtinction of approaching the ſplendid throne of the lord of Aſia.

From Salamis. P.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER. From the foreſt of Nyſa, near Ecbatana.

I Should own myſelf unworthy of the correſpondence, you begun laſt year in the hurry of your firſt arrival at Athens, if the diſordered ſtate of the province of Lydia, which was then added by the king's goodneſs, to my former government of Sardis, did not furniſh me with a ſufficient excuſe.

The corruptions and irregularities, which, under the ſatrap my predeceſſor, had crept into the military and civil affairs of the province, as the management of the forces, the revenue, and the judicial proceedings, required not only an early, but in many caſes a ſevere correction. I was obliged to remove ſeveral of the chief officers, to puniſh others as they deſerved, and to prefer thoſe, who, for their abilities and integrity, were before neglected and diſgraced. But as the moſt neceſſary reformation ſeldom fails of making the promoter of it unpopular, complaints were made againſt me at court by the perſons removed, which, at the earneſt requeſt of their friends, occaſioned a particular order to the inſpectors, who are ſent annually through the provinces of the empire, to examine the conduct of the governors, that they ſhould make a ſtrict enquiry into mine. After a long and exact examination, I was declared to have acted, not only with impartial juſtice, but with the greateſt regard to the honour of the empire, and the

ſervice

ſervice of the king. And ſoon after the commiſſioners had made their report, I received a letter of thanks and approbation, ſigned with the king's own ſignet, beſides a rich Median veſt, a farther proof of the royal favour. The affairs of Lydia being now quiet, and proceeding in a regular well ordered courſe, I took a journey this ſummer to viſit my friends at Ecbatana, and write to you from MEGABYZUS's Palace in the foreſt of Nyſa; where that great man entertains his friends with that humanity and politeneſs, which are ſo natural to him. HYDASPES, GOBRYAS, and INTAPHERNES, the captain of the Immortals, lay aſide, now they are here, the manners of the court, and the formalities of their offices; and converſe upon the terms of freedom without levity, and friendſhip without affected reſerves. However, that we may not quite forget our diſtinct employments, and think ourſelves transformed into Bactrian Magi, it frequently happens, that the miniſter is ſummoned to council, the ſecretary returns to his office, the Chamberlain to his ſtation in the palace, the commander to his quarters; and all of us attend the king to the chace, which, you know, is the uſual diverſion of the court. At the laſt hunting match on mount Orontes, a fierce tiger leaped out of a cloſe thicket, and ſprung forwards towards the king, who was in the utmoſt danger. ARTYPHIUS, the ſon of MEGABYZUS, ſtepped immediately before him, and with one ſtroke of his javelin laid the furious beaſt dead upon the ſpot. Nor was our generous lord unmindful of ſo ſignal an inſtance of courage and reſolution; for he preſented his deliverer with a gold chain, worth 1000 darics, be-

beſides adding the moſt obliging expreſſions of praiſe and eſteem. This accident has been the more talked of, as the father was formerly diſgraced for the very ſame thing, that now procures rewards to the ſon. But the caſe of the former gave riſe to an edict, declaring it lawful to ſtrike a beaſt before the king had flung his dart, which was before looked upon as the higheſt inſtance of diſreſpect. The Caduſians have, from their mountainous country, made an incurſion upon the northern parts of Media, taken a rich booty, and defeated the ſatrap, who attempted to oppoſe their ravages. A body of troops lately marched towards thoſe frontiers, and ARTYPHIUS ſet out to day with a ſtronger detachment, to reinforce them. His late brave action furthered not a little his advancement to be general in this expedition; and as he is a young man of extraordinary skill and valour, it is not doubted, but that he will ſoon reduce theſe Barbarians. I think you will know all the court news, when I have told you, that BAGORAZES, the eunuch, is made cup-bearer. HYDASPES, the chamberlain, communicated your laſt letter to the company here, which gave them great entertainment. They are only concerned, that Perſia cannot afford materials of equal value for an anſwer. Your friends think ſhortly of uſing your aſſiſtance in the purchaſe of Grecian books and curioſities. Such commiſſions will not be the leaſt troubleſom part of your employment. Your repeated acknowledgments for the good offices I did you with the Perſian miniſters were quite unneceſſary; it is a ſufficient return, that you anſwer their higheſt expectations. Farewell. P.

LET-

LETTER. XXIV.

MEGABYZUS to CLEANDER. From Ecbatana.

THough GOBRYAS has already acquainted thee, with what approbation thy accounts of the affairs of Greece are received, and in his laſt diſpatch had orders to open to thee the plan, on which we determine to proceed, in relation to theſe Grecian quarrels, and the reaſons on which we formed it; yet I by no means think myſelf diſpenſed from acknowledging thy letters, or expreſſing, as well the particular ſatisfaction they have given me, as the hopes I conceive, that thy paſt ſervices will produce others of ſtill greater value and importance. The plague, that rages at Athens, makes us a little impatient to know, whether it will produce an alteration in their meaſures; for affairs in a popular conſtitution are always ſo fluctuating and unſteady, that any preſent inconvenience or misfortune turns the courſe of their politics, and even ſhakes the foundations of their government. At the ſame time, though the Athenians have already offered peace, I much queſtion, whether the Lacedæmonians will accept it, without impoſing conditions the moſt diſadvantageous to the commerce and greatneſs of the former; perhaps obliging them to leſſen the number of their ſhips, or give up the protection of the moſt uſeful of their allies. But if ever the Athenians ſubmit to theſe terms, they will loſe the two chief ſources of their power and wealth, and be reduced to the ſame inconſiderable ſtate, from whence they

they were raiſed, within my memory, by the judgment and valour of THEMISTOCLES.

Nor will it be for the intereſt of Perſia, that either Lacedæmon or Athens ſhould obtain the ſuperiority over the reſt of Greece, or be able to influence their counſels. In that caſe, the ruling commonwealth would be always ready and able to undertake ſome united enterprize againſt Perſia, invade the fertile provinces of Aſia Minor, waſte our coaſts, encourage the diſaffection of our governors, always prepared, through fear of puniſhment for their oppreſſions, to ſhake off their obedience, and erect the provinces entruſted to their care into independent principalities. But I hope for better things; that the ſpirit of our great CYRUS, which watches over the mighty empire he ſo glorioufly founded, will preſerve the throne of his poſterity from ſuch inſults; that the peace we continue to enjoy, will help us to expel every noxious humour or latent venom of fraud, rapine, and corruption, from the various parts of our government; that a ſtrict exerciſe of military diſcipline may reſtore to us thoſe hardy troops, which raviſhed the empire of the Eaſt from the Aſſyrians, and made us maſters of the wealth and pompous ſtructures of Ægypt; and that a regular and ſteady purſuit of well-grounded counſels may enable us to balance the diviſions of Greece, and preſerve ſuch an equality of power amongſt its different ſtates, as to turn the ſcale whenever we effectually interpoſe.

The Peloponneſian ambaſſadors, with ARISTÆUS of Corinth at their head, are already on their way towards Thrace, where they are ordered to execute

a commiſſion with SITALCES and from thence repair to the court of our great monarch. We ſhall not be in haſte to diſpatch them, but under pretence of examining the cauſes of their quarrel with Athens, and the motives they may offer to engage us in their alliance, detain them, till we ſee, whether the Athenians will follow them in applying for our Aſſiſtance, or till the fortune of the war determines us, which part it is moſt advantageous to Perſia to ſupport. In the mean time, continue to enquire, whether the Athenians are informed of this embaſſy, and ſend us ſpeedy advice, what reſolutions they take upon it, by which it will be very neceſſary for us to regulate our behaviour. Our curioſity is not leſs raiſed to know, how PERICLES ſtands his ground in this difficult ſituation. I cannot think they have any one conſiderable enough, either for abilities or authority, to ſucceed him in the chief management of their affairs. Be aſſured, CLEANDER, that however theſe fickle republics, founded in diſcord and mutability, change their favourites, becauſe the ſhining luſtre of their great qualities expoſe them to the malicious efforts of popular envy, the court of Perſia follows no ſuch maxim; the unjuſt cuſtom of oſtraciſm is not yet eſtabliſhed here. Thy merits, far from giving umbrage, ſecure to thee the protection of thy prince and the eſteem of his miniſters; far from obſtructing thy advancement, or rendering thee liable to diſgrace, are the ſureſt and moſt honourable methods of furthering thy progreſs in the one, and preſerving thee from any danger of the other. Adieu.

P.

LET-

LETTER XXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes in Ægypt.

AFTER we had traverſed Arabia, and ſeen in our way the ſepulchre of Iſis and Oſiris at Nyſa, the pillars of which are inſcribed in the ſacred Ægyptian letters, we paſſed the Idumæan gulf, and our tour lay ſtrait for No-Ammon. This is the ancient Thebes of Ægypt, celebrated in the writings of the Grecian HOMER. The city is in circuit 140 ſtadia, but anciently took in a much greater compaſs; and both for the magnificence of its buildings, as well as the wealth contained within its walls, was eſteemed not only the moſt beautiful and noble one of Ægypt, but of the whole world. From the long records of the Theban dynaſty, it appears to have been founded in the earlieſt times. * It was taken by ſurprize, and firſt pillaged by the Carthaginians, when the riſing greatneſs of their republick began firſt to annoy the neighbouring ſtates. It was afterwards invaded by the Aſſyrian, but ſuffered moſt from the madneſs of CAMBYSES, when he returned from his Æthiopian expedition. It was then, that ancient temple here, the largeſt and richeſt of the four, ſo admirable for its beauty and greatneſs, was ſtript of its gold, ivory, and precious ſtones. However, the

* Hanc inter exordia pandentis ſe late Carthaginis improviſo exercitu duces oppreſſere Pœnorum.
Ammi. Marcell. l. 17.

fabrick is left ſtanding, and its circuit is 13 ſtadia, 45 cubits the height, with a wall 24 foot broad. There are about the city innumerable coloſſus's and obelisks of one entire ſtone; and theſe form, on every ſide of this famous capital, thoſe ſtately avenues, which add ſo much to its apparent largeneſs. The many quarries of marble and porphyry, of which the upper Ægypt is full to the ſouth, had furniſhed them with materials; nor can we wonder, that they found hands to raiſe ſuch ſtupendous works, when we are told, that the ancient kings of Thebes carried their conqueſts as far as Scythia, Bactria, and India. The city extends for a great length on both ſides the Nile; and in ancient times an hundred ſtables lay along by the river, on the Lybian ſide, from Thebes to Memphis, each of which would contain 200 horſes, which were always ready for the ſervice of the ſtate and the quick diſpatches of publick couriers; and many of theſe remain to this day very entire.

Among the principal wonders of Ægypt is always ranked the vocal ſtatue of MEMNON, * which is of a ſtone called the Biſaltes, of the hardneſs and colour of iron. Half of it from the head to the middle was broke off by CAMBYSES; what remains is in a ſitting poſture, the feet and legs cloſed together. The ſound it utters at ſun riſing reſembles that of the ſtrings of a lyre, that is cracked and out of tune: the ſound I am witneſs to, but cannot be ſure, whether it came from the baſe, or the ſtatue, or from any by-ſtander. † Near

* Plin. l. 37. c. 7. Pauſan. Att. p. 78. Philoſtr. l. 6. c. 3.

† Thebis trans Nilum ad Συρίγας quas vocant ſtatua eſt reſonans. Pauſ. Att. p. 78.

Near this place are concealed under ground the moſt venerable remains of Ægyptian antiquity, I mean * the pillars of HERMES. It was with much ſolicitation and difficulty I gained admittance to the place, where they were ſhewn, and by a particular favour of the prieſts, for which I am indebted to PHARNUCES, the governor. Within the encloſure of an ancient edifice, a repoſitory of the ſacred books and other monuments, you deſcend a great depth by rough and craggy ſteps in the rock; the place ſeems to have been formerly dug into as a quarry. At the bottom a large gap opens before you, through which I was conducted into ſeveral dark chambers by perplext winding paſſages, till at laſt I diſcovered a diſtant glimmering light, which directed me through a long narrow avenue, the farther end of which opened into a ſpacious cave. The ſtrange ſolemnity of the place muſt ſtrike every one, that enters it, with a religious horror; and is the moſt proper to work you up into that frame of mind, in which you will receive, with the moſt awful reverence and aſſent, whatever the prieſt, who attends you, is pleaſed to reveal concerning the wonderful monuments depoſited therein. Towards the farther end of the cave, or within the inmoſt receſs of ſome prodigious caverns, that run beyond it, you hear, as it were a great way off, a noiſe reſembling the diſtant roarings of the ſea, and ſometimes like the fall of waters, daſhing againſt rocks with great impetuoſity. The noiſe is ſuppoſed to be ſo ſtunning and frightful, if you approach it, that few,

* Syncell. p. 40. b. Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 232.

they ſay, are inquiſitive enough, to ſearch far into thoſe myſterious ſportings of nature. It put me in mind of thoſe * caverns of the Magi, under the mountains of my native Perſia, where, by a ſtrange reflection of ſounds in thoſe hollow cavities, at firſt you hear a confuſed murmur, like the noiſe of numerous armies at the onſet of the battle; as you proceed farther, the noiſe thickens upon you as in the heat of an engagement; at laſt it reſembles the ſhouts and acclamations of a victory. The arrangement of the lamps, in this cave, is exceeding beautiful. There are taper pillars from the ground to the height of the vault, probably left in that faſhion, when part of the natural rock was excavated, and the lamps hang about them from the bottom to the top. Surrounded with theſe pillars of lamps are each of thoſe venerable columns, which I am now to ſpeak of, inſcribed in the hieroglyphical letters with the primæval myſteries of the Ægyptian learning. They are ſaid to have been placed here by † HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, a ſage as highly reverenced among the Ægyptians, as ZOROASTER is with us. ‖ To him they aſcribe the contrivance of letters, and the firſt forming of articulate ſounds, and every other invention of chief uſe to human life. They will not ſettle his antiquity; only told me, that theſe pillars had outſtood the ſtrongeſt ſhocks of nature, and remained firm and entire, when an univerſal deluge laid waſte and ſhatter'd this terraqueous globe. The ſame perſon

* Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. 6. † Or rather Mercheres Triſmegiſtus. ‖ Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

I ob-

I obſerve, they generally call THOTH, or ATHOTHES. To this MERCURY is attributed the famous computation of 36,525 years, in which period of time he ſuppoſed the ſeveral heavenly bodies did exactly go through all the relations, which they could have in their motions, to one another, and came round to the ſame point, from which all their courſes began; and upon theſe pillars, ſay the prieſts, he has given a perfect demonſtration of it. To theſe their hiſtorians have recourſe, for the ancient annals of this country. From theſe pillars, and the ſacred books, they maintain, that all the philoſophy and learning of the world has been derived. From theſe the ancient ORPHEUS borrowed his celebrated ſyſtem of the origin of things. To theſe PYTHAGORAS and THALES were indebted for thoſe diſcoveries, which have eſtabliſhed their reputation to all ſucceeding ages. It was my good luck to be here at a time, when a great ſacrifice and luſtration to the myſterious HERMES, or MERCURY, was to be ſolemnized within the bowels of this ſtupendous cave, which is done once in fifty years; at which time only it is granted, and that through a particular mark of favour and courteſy, to ſome ſtranger of rank and diſtinction, to be admitted within theſe hallowed caverns. At other times only the tedious diſcipline and preparations, which PYTHAGORAS for thirty years underwent, to be initiated into their myſteries, would qualify one to be admitted to theſe ſacred monuments.

The city takes its ancient name from the god AMMUN, whom the Greeks call JUPITER. He is the ſame with SATURN, or CRONUS, the father of OSI-

RIS. From his other names, which are * THAMUS and CHAMUS, the whole land ſtill retains at Thebes the name of † Chemia. He is repreſented with the face of a ram; and in Thebais the killing of that ſpecies of animals would be puniſhed as a moſt heinous and capital offence, which may be done but one day in the year, in the feſtivals of their god; and then a ſingle ram is ſlain, ‖ and his skin flea'd off to be hung upon the ſtatue of AMMUN; and the image of HERCULES muſt be brought and ſet before it, becauſe it is ſaid the god appeared in that manner to HERCULES, upon his earneſt and preſſing inſtances to ſee him. The carcaſe of the ram is afterwards beaten by all that attend at the ſolemnity, and then buried in one of the ſacred repoſitories.

§ It is a tradition here, that the firſt prieſteſſes of the Libyan oracle of JUPITER AMMUN, and of the Dodonæan oracle in Greece, were taken away, and ſold by the Phœnicians into thoſe countries out of Thebes.

I ſhall ſtay here ſome time, from whence I may entertain you with freſh varieties, if my report of things is in any ſort intereſting. Adieu. L.

LETTER XXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Salamis.

SINCE my laſt diſpatch, noble ſcribe, the ſtate of Athens has continued in a perpetual ferment. The

* Plato in Phœdro. Βασιλέως τότε ὅλος Αἰγύπτου ὅλης Θαμοῦς περὶ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ ἄνω τόπου, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἄμμωνα. p. 1240. b. † Εἰς τὸν Αἴγυπτον Χημία καλοῦσιν. Plutar. de Iſide. ‖ Herod. Euterp. 42. § Ibid. 54, 55.

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jars and cabals of oppoſite factions, the calamities of the plague, the weight and charge of the war, a general diſlike of the preſent meaſures, and no unanimity in a ſteady purſuit of others, have by turns occaſioned the utmoſt perplexity in the counſels, and impatience in the tempers of this people.

The ambaſſadors they had ſent to Lacedæmon declared at their return, that peace could be obtained on no terms, but ſuch as were abſolutely diſadvantageous and unreaſonable. When the preſent condition of their affairs was debated in an extraordinary aſſembly, PERICLES aroſe, and with a reſolution not to be daunted by the clamours of his adverſaries, and a ſtrength, which they were unable to confute, endeavoured to ſoften the irritated minds of the people, raiſe their drooping ſpirits, and turn their reſentment from himſelf upon the Lacedæmonians. He repreſented to them, "that the "reaſons, which induced them to enter into this war, "were ſtill the ſame, and received no alteration from the "croſs accidents of fortune; which it was impoſſible "for the moſt refined human prudence to foreſee or "prevent. That the misfortunes of particulars ought "not to make them neglect the common intereſt of "the whole, which could not be ſecured, but by pre-"ſerving their bravery and independence. That "whilſt they continued maſters of the ſea, the ravages "of their lands, or the loſs of their country ſeats, "were not to be regarded; theſe might eaſily be re-"covered: but if they ſuffered their ſpirits to ſink, and "deſpaired of ſucceſs, they would not only be de-"prived of ſuch ornamental advantages, but of the

" moſt eſſential one of all, in which conſiſted the very " being of their republic, their liberty. Therefore " (concluded he) leave off blaming your governors " for an event, that ſeems inflicted by the hand of pro- " vidence; ſince evils from heaven are to be patiently " ſubmitted to, thoſe from men to be valiantly oppoſed. " Rouze up, Athenians, your ancient reſolution and ge- " neroſity; ſend no more heralds to the Lacedæmonians, " and ſhew yourſelves as well worthy as able to main- " tain your pretenſions of being at the head of Greece."

I have given this ſhort account of PERICLES's ſpeech, that the Perſian miniſters might have an idea, both of the manner of addreſſing the people in theſe democratical governments, and of that particular force and vivacity, which diſtinguiſh the eloquence of this great ſtateſman. He obtained part of what he contended for; the aſſembly reſolved, that no more overtures of peace ſhould be made to the allies; but at the ſame time, in the height of their warmth and violence, deprived him of his command, and fined him 50 talents, upon the motion of CLEON and SIMMIAS. Thus PERICLES, who has ſo long diſpoſed, almoſt abſolutely, of the treaſures, forces, and honours of Athens, is reduced by a ſingle vote to the condition of a private citizen; undiſtinguiſhed by any, except his former reputation and eminent abilities, which ſpread ſuch a luſtre round him, that no artful colouring of his adverſaries can ever deface. Nay, perhaps to a philoſophic eye he appears greater in his diſgrace, which he bears with temper, than adorned with all the glory of external grandeur and dignity. The death of ſeveral of his friends

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and chief confidents in buſineſs, and the diviſions occaſioned in his family, through the extravagance of his ſon XANTIPPUS, add no ſmall preſſure to his misfortunes.

As ſoon as theſe animoſities begin to cool, I ſhall not fail to ſend advice, in what hands the adminiſtration ſeems moſt likely to be lodged; whether in a ſet of new favourites, or (as ſeveral imagine) in thoſe of the old one. I come now to anſwer the particular direction thou gaveſt me concerning the Peloponneſian embaſſy, which has been ſince repeated by MEGABYZUS; and I am ſorry my information muſt prove diſagreeable, for the Athenians are now acquainted with the deſign, on which the ambaſſadors are ſent to SITALCES and our great maſter, and the route they are to take. Yeſterday the ſenate diſpatched a courier, with private orders to their miniſters at the court of SITALCES; and though the contents of them are not publickly known, and kept as ſecret as any thing can be in a popular government, I have no room to doubt, that they contain a demand, that the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors ſhould be put into their hands; in which requeſt they expect to be aſſiſted by SADOCUS, the ſon of the Thracian prince, who was laſt year made a citizen of Athens. ARISTEUS, the chief of the embaſſy, is particularly aimed at: it appears, that the revolt of Potidea, and the troubles in Thrace, are owing to his contrivance. Might I preſume to adviſe the Perſian miniſtry, if this letter arrives in time, ſome perſon of addreſs and skill in the Thracian manners ſhould be ſent, on the part of the king, to SITALCES, and endeavour, either by me-

naces or bribes, to prevent ſo baſe a compliance. But thou muſt receive advice of the iſſue of this matter much ſooner from PHARNABAZUS, the governor of the Helleſpont, than from hence. I cannot however help expreſſing my concern for the ſafety of theſe ambaſſadors. The Athenians, in their preſent head-ſtrong ungovernable diſpoſition, and the warm reſentment they expreſs againſt the Lacedæmonians, are not likely to pay much regard to their ſacred rights.

I ſhall take the firſt opportunity of removing to Athens, whenever it can be done without danger of infection from the plague. In the mean time, illuſtrious ſatrap, permit me to return my humbleſt acknowledgments for the honour of the confidence thou repoſeſt in me; unworthy as I am, to partake in the councils of Perſia. I will at leaſt make no ill uſe of thoſe entruſted to my ſecrecy, but punctually obſerving the orders I receive, and regulating my own conduct by the rules they preſcribe, endeavour to ſupply all deficiencies in knowledge and experience, with the zeal and integrity of my ſervice. P.

LETTER XXVII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. From Salamis.

I would endeavour, noble ſatrap, to equal, if not the agreeable and lively ſtile, which embelliſhes thy letters, at leaſt that judicious choice of materials in them, which joins ſo artfully inſtruction to ornament; and I imagine, that a ſhort ſurvey of the preſent ſtate of Grecian philoſophy will not be an unentertaining ſpecu-

ſpeculation to one of thy improved and extenſive curioſity. Beſides the general advantage of an enquiry, which lays before us a kind of hiſtory of human reaſon, of the diſcoveries it is capable of making, the exalted heights to which it can attain, and the gradual and regular ſteps, by which it proceeds in the ſearch of uſeful truth, I pleaſe myſelf with thinking, that a particular one, with regard to thee, will attend my diſcuſſing this ſubject. For as Ægypt may be called the parent ſoil of ſcience, from whence the Greek philoſophers tranſplanted many doctrines taught in the colleges of the prieſts, to cultivate them afterwards in their own ſchools; it is probable, that a view of the chief tenets maintained in the latter will further thy enquiries into the more myſterious learning of the former, which muſt reciprocally throw in light upon ſome obſcurities in the conduct and notions of thoſe, who by their long ſtay in Ægypt received no ſmall tincture of the manners of their inſtructors. The Greek philoſophy is at preſent divided into two principal ſects, the Ionic, which was founded by THALES the Mileſian, and the Italic, which owes its riſe to PYTHAGORAS. THALES was born in the 35th olympiad, and is remarkable for being the firſt Grecian, who taught a regular ſyſtem of philoſophy, and left a ſucceſſion of diſciples behind him to eſtabliſh and maintain it. In the earlier part of his life he travelled into Ægypt, and during a reſidence of ſeveral years there applied himſelf with ſuch genius and induſtry to the ſciences, under the direction of the prieſts, that he became able at laſt even to inſtruct his maſters; and, it is ſaid, ſhewed

ed them, how to meaſure the height of the pyramids. He was afterwards employed in the ſervice of CRŒSUS, king of Lydia; and contrived to make the river Halys fordable for the army of that prince, by drawing off the water into trenches. On his return to Greece, he lived in a learned retirement, dividing his time between the culture of his favourite ſtudies, geometry and aſtronomy, and the inſtruction of his followers, who held him in the utmoſt veneration. He has left ſeveral moral precepts on record; but is moſt celebrated for his knowledge of nature. He taught, that water was the principle, out of which the ſupreme being created all things; that the univerſe is filled with inviſible ſpirits, who inſpect the actions of men; that the earth is ſituated in the middle of the world, and moves round its own center. He was the firſt among the Greeks, who calculated eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and made obſervations on the motions of the celeſtial bodies. It is owing to him, that thoſe wonderful phænomena, which by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious are looked upon as omens of approaching calamity and tokens of the divine wrath, appear to the philoſophic eye as the ſimple and regular operations of beneficent and various nature; a diſcovery, which alone ought to recommend his name to the eſteem of poſterity. He died in the ninety ſecond year of his age, whilſt he was preſent at the Olympic games, and ANAXIMANDER ſucceeded him in the Ionic ſchool. There is little known of this philoſopher, except that in ſome points he did not adhere to the doctrine of his maſter; particularly he held, that there was nothing in the univerſe, but an immenſe

matter

matter endowed with an infinite motion; and that in the fruitful boſom of the immenſe matter, every thing was produced by an eternal revolution of forms. By eſtabliſhing this ſyſtem, he excluded, at leaſt tacitly, the exiſtence of a ſupreme intelligent firſt cauſe. ANAXIMENES, his ſucceſſor, aſcribed the origin of all things to the air, and exerted his mechanical skill in the invention of a ſun-dial, which was firſt ſet up at Lacedæmon, to the no ſmall admiration of that warlike but unpoliſhed people. The ſchool of THALES was tranſported by ANAXAGORAS from Miletus, where till his time it had flouriſhed, to Athens, as a more conſpicuous theatre for his talents to diſplay themſelves in. This philoſopher was of a noble Family in Ionia; but renounced all pretenſions to a ſhare in the government of his country, and the inheritance of a conſiderable eſtate, in order to apply himſelf with leſs interruption to the ſtudy of wiſdom and the ſearch of truth. Whilſt he reſided at Athens, he had the honour of reckoning PERICLES amongſt his diſciples; and it is generally believed, that the ſtateſman owes no ſmall part of his political, as well as natural knowledge, to the lectures of the ſpeculative ſage. The enemies of the former, unable to ruin his credit with the people, reſolved to attack him in the perſons of his friends, and accuſed ANAXAGORAS of degrading the ſun from the number of the gods, by defining it to be a maſs of fiery matter. The Athenians, who, by an odd contradiction, expreſs frequently a warm zeal for the honour of their deities, when injured, as they imagine, by the philoſophers, though they ſuffer them

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to be expoſed with the low buffoonery of the comic poets, condemned him to death; but he avoided the ſentence, by retiring to Lampſacus, where he died ſoon after. His diſciples erected two altars to his memory, and dedicated the one to the eternal mind, and the other to truth.

ANAXAGORAS always declared himſelf againſt the notion of the world's being formed by chance, and attributed the order and life, which are obſervable in it, to the direction of an infinitely wiſe and powerful mind. He held, that there is no vacuum in nature; that every body is diviſible in infinitum, and compoſed of little particles of a ſimilar nature, as blood, for inſtance, of particles of blood, water of particles of water, *&c.* But I need not tire thy patience, with enlarging further on the lives and tenets of the philoſophers of this ſect: what I have already ſaid is ſufficient to give thee a tolerable idea of them; and thou haſt judgment enough to perceive, that many of their opinions being only founded on the probable aſſertions of ſyſtem, inſtead of proofs drawn from nature herſelf, muſt be left for confirmation, or rejection, to the more accurate enquiries of future ages. I ſhall only add, that the Ionic ſchool under ARCHELAUS, its preſent chief, has produced a diſciple, who ſeems likely to eclipſe the fame, not only of his maſter, but of every philoſopher, who has yet ariſen in Greece. His name is SOCRATES, and he applies himſelf wholly to the moral part of philoſophy, neglecting the natural, as a ſcience too fanciful and uncertain. I muſt refer thee to another letter, for an account of the Italic ſect, and of PYTHAGORAS,

GORAS, its great founder, ſince this is already ſwelled to a greater length than I intended it ſhould. If I indulge too far the honour thou haſt granted me of thy correſpondence, be perſuaded, generous ORSAMES, that it is not owing to any impertinent affectation of informing thee, or any want of reſpect to thy quality, but to that early taſte I perceive in thee for uſeful literature, and my ardent deſire to ſhare in that rational plan of education, which thou haſt laid down, of blending the elegant accompliſhments of Grecian arts with the manly ſeverities of the ancient diſcipline of Perſia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXVIII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER. From Ecbatana.

THE news of PERICLES's removal from public buſineſs gave me no great ſurprize. I know how precarious great honours are, and wonder moſt, that he has ſo long maintained an authority, which the envious great and the lawleſs multitude have agreed to call tyrannical. The Greeks continue to anſwer the prayer of XERXES, by diſgracing the moſt worthy citizens; and I wiſh the reſentment of PERICLES would throw him into the intereſts of Perſia, where he would be received with no leſs honour, than his great predeceſſor THEMISTOCLES.

The king ſent to intercede with SITALCES, that the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors might proceed to this court; but they were already delivered up to the Athenians, at the requeſt of his ſon SADOCUS, who has requited, by

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an act of treachery, the honour they did him laſt year of making him free of Athens. He may wiſh hereafter, that ſo trifling a privilege had given place, to the opportunity of doing a grateful act to the lord of Aſia.

I am under no leſs apprehenſion than yourſelf for the lives of thoſe men, at a time when the ſtates are ſo exaſperated againſt each other. It might be well to inſinuate, that violent meaſures would confirm ARTAXERXES the enemy of Athens, already ſufficiently irritated by their conduct. The ambaſſadors deſigned for Perſia are indeed Peloponneſians, and they may plead the reaſonableneſs of taking all advantages of an enemy; yet prudence and their misfortunes might teach them, that they have no need of a new and more powerful one. At ſuch a juncture, if they had receded a little from their pretenſions, the courteſy would not have been miſplaced; for we truſt, that it is already in the hands of our monarch to determine the ſucceſs to either party, and perhaps to reap the fruit of the war. I wiſh it were poſſible, thou couldſt for one day put on the character of ambaſſador, and ask the council of Athens, whether they were determined to make ARTAXERXES their foe? Methinks I ſee them confounded for an anſwer. Strait a rumour ſpreads among the populace, that the Perſian muſt be appeaſed: they aſſemble in a tumultous manner, and demand the Peloponneſians of their magiſtrates, and ſend them honourably attended to the court of Perſia. But I leave it to your diſcretion, to uſe ſuch means, as may ſeem moſt effectual to preſerve them. Your diſtance from the city gives me little proſpect of ſucceſs; and I am not ſuch an enemy to

Perſia,

Perſia, as to think their redemption an equivalent for the hazard of your life. Keep your ſtation. I ſend you no command from the king, of which he requires a ſtricter obſervance, than that you conſult your ſafety. Farewell.

H.

LETTER XXIX.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Dioſpolis.

HAVING in a former letter mentioned to thee, CLEANDER, the hieroglyphical inſcriptions of the famed Hermetic pillars in this country, I will here endeavour to give thee ſome general idea of the nature and conſtruction of this myſtic character. The Ægyptians, ever ſince the age of their renowned HERMES or TAAUTUS, have given much, it is ſaid, into the humour of repreſenting their thoughts to each other in a way of emblem or ſenſible imagery; a kind of expreſſion, thou wilt obſerve, which addreſſes itſelf to the eyes, inſtead of the hearing, and which ſeems indeed to have this advantage, at firſt thought, of the method of ſpeaking by ſounds; that whereas words are merely arbitrary ſubſtitutes of the ideas they are uſed for, the characters of this picture-language have a ſort of natural ſignificancy in them, an aptneſs of themſelves to convey their particular meaning. The firſt principles of the art I am ſpeaking of (which, from being much uſed in the *ſacra* of this country, paſſes here under the general name of hieroglyphics) are laid in certain obſervable analogies, relations, or

correſpondencies of the particular forms, actions, or qualities of animals, to certain facts in nature, morals, or hiſtory. From whence it is eaſy to infer, that the prime elements, or radical words, if one may call them ſo, in this emblematical language, were, as in all other languages, not very numerous; and that the copiouſneſs it is now poſſeſſed of, has been the work of time and ſucceſſive improvement: for a foundation, once eſtabliſhed in ſome few of the ſimpler and more obvious analogies above hinted at, the ſuperſtructure, thou wilt readily conceive, would be capable of infinite enlargement, as more nice and critical obſervations in the kind ſhould bring in new materials for this purpoſe. It has doubtleſs been with this view, that the Ægyptians have ever been remarkable, for beſtowing a more than ordinary attention upon the various particularities of their country animals. And the fruit of their application this way abundantly ſhews itſelf in that large fund of ſymbols they have in uſe, for treating almoſt every ſubject one can think of. To ſignify, for example, the introduction of tillage and agriculture among them by the beneficent OSIRIS, one of their gods, whom they boaſt to have reigned in this country, they deſcribe an ox's head; the animal made uſe of by him, as it has been ever ſince in ploughing their lands. When they would repreſent any perſon with a numerous offspring, they exhibit the figure of a crocodile; an animal, it ſeems, remarkable with them for its prolific and fruitful quality. Thus again the goat being obſerved to be a more than ordinary ſalacious and wanton animal, is for this reaſon

made

made the Ægyptian emblem of animal generation at large; as is the hawk and the ſerpent, of the vital principle in animal bodies, from their being themſelves ſuppoſed to partake, in an eminent degree, of that æther or ſpirit, in which it is imagined life conſiſts. When they would expreſs the moon, they do it under the figure of an ape, which they obſerve, to have a kind of ſympathy with this divine luminary; inaſmuch as, at the time of new moon, the males of this ſpecies become blind, refuſe their uſual food, and ſhew evident tokens of ſorrow for the then total diſappearance of the moon's light; the females, at the ſame ſeaſon, beſides what happens to them in common with the males, ſuffering, 'tis remarked, a periodical infirmity of their own. The ſame animal is moreover the Ægyptian mark of the two æquinoxes; it being found at each of theſe to have a regular diſcharge of urine once every hour, during the whole four and twenty. It were endleſs to enlarge upon this article, CLEANDER; and there is the leſs reaſon for it, as the particulars I have already mentioned may ſuffice to anſwer my intention in this letter. I think it not improbable, that the want of a regular alphabet firſt introduced this hieroglyphical language into Ægypt. But the prieſthood here, who loſe no opportunity to give the world an advantageous idea of their own order, have ſince found it extremely uſeful, in eſtabliſhing that high reputation they are in for wiſdom of every kind; inaſmuch as, being perfect maſters of human nature, they have not failed to practiſe upon that prevailing foible of it, the thinking ſecrecy a ſure token of importance, by

contriving this, amongſt other methods, to perplex the avenues to that knowledge they are poſſeſſed of, in order to raiſe the idea, and inhance the credit of it. Adieu. O.

LETTER XXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THE court, which of late years has paſſed its winters at Suſa, is now removed to ſpend this at Babylon; and though the pleaſure of ſeeing ſo celebrated a city, and enjoying the ſpacious and well cultivated country, which lies round it, may have induced the king to change, for a time, the uſual ſeat of his reſidence, yet I believe policy has ſome part in the reſolution. For as Babylon was once the metropolis of a powerful empire, where the court of the Aſſyrian monarchs was conſtantly held, it is not without reluctance, that the inhabitants ſubmit to a foreign yoke; and from being always honoured with the preſence of kings, and graced with privileges, are now burdened with taxes for the ſupport of their conquerors, and ruled by governors. Our monarch has rendered himſelf very acceptable here, by remitting part of the tribute, which this province paid to his predeceſſors, and receiving the ſatraps of the country, who came upon his arrival to proſtrate themſelves at his feet, with the utmoſt affability. He has been willing, that they ſhould partake of all the diverſions of his court, and diſmiſſes none, whoſe merits are conſpicuous, without ſome mark of diſtinction. Is not a prince worthy to poſſeſs

poſſes the empire of the Eaſt, who like him exerts his abſolute power for the good of his ſubjects; who travels through the different parts of his dominions, not merely to diſplay the magnificence of his court, or to take a view of the outward face of the country, but to redreſs the complaints of his people, to attach to his intereſt by perſonal favours thoſe, whom duty has already ſubjected to his authority, and to learn to know and reward merit, not by the recommendation of his miniſters, but by his own obſervation? But I muſt break off this moralizing diſcourſe, which ſo little befits a courtier; and to afford thee materials for thy amuſement as well as reflection, ſhall relate a ſurprizing adventure, which happened a few days ago at the palace. Thou muſt have heard, that ARTABAZUS, the governor of Babylon, was lieutenant to MARDONIUS at the battle of Platea, and afterwards put himſelf at the head of the Perſian forces, who remained, and brought them back to Aſia, after a laborious and hazardous march. In the hurry of this confuſed retreat, his wife, who followed him in the expedition, died of fatigue and grief; and his daughter, then an infant, was carried off by a party of Greeks, who beat up one of his quarters in the night, and was never ſince heard of. In an entertainment lately performed at the palace, a new dance was introduced, in which a beautiful ſlave of the queen's, diſtinguiſhed herſelf to the admiration of every body, and put ſeveral upon enquiring who ſhe was. She had been bought two days before of a merchant of Cyprus, then at Babylon, who ſaid ſhe was ſold to him by an Athe-

nian ſoldier, who took her priſoner from the Perſians, not long after the action at Platea. This being told ARTABAZUS, he ſent for the merchant, and upon comparing his account with other circumſtances of this unfortunate accident, which he recollected himſelf, upon ſeeing the rich ornaments which were taken with her, and found to be thoſe, with which the infant was adorn'd at the very time of her being loſt; and upon examining the whole affair, the young ſlave was diſcovered to be the daughter of ARTABAZUS, ſent him, as it were providentially, for the joy and ſupport of his declining years, and to crown the ſucceſs, which had generally attended him in public, with this laſt inſtance of domeſtic felicity.

The ſatisfaction ariſing from this happy event has been heightened by the victory, which ARTYPHIUS has gain'd over the Caduſians. That hardy people, having taken a rich booty, were attacked in their retreat, and wholly routed. ARTYPHIUS purſued his advantage, marched his army into their country, and forced them to ſubmit to a tribute, and to deliver up hoſtages. He is now upon his return, and highly commended for the conduct and valour he has ſhewn in this expedition. The troops, which accompanied him, were ſome of the veterans, who had fought under MEGABYZUS in Ægypt. An ambaſſador is going to the king of the Scythians, to demand ſatisfaction for the ravages that nation have committed on our frontier provinces; and ſoon after him DARIUS, the king's third ſon, will ſet out for the government of Hyrcania, which is lately beſtowed on him. The revolution occaſioned in the Athenian affairs by the removal

of

of PERICLES, adds much to the curioſity, with which we liſten after Grecian news. It is thought ſurprizing, that no action of importance either by ſea or land has yet happened, though the war has now laſted near two years. Notwithſtanding SITALCES has delivered up the Peloponneſian embaſſadors, an agent from Lacedæmon, it is ſaid, will ſhortly arrive here.

I tranſmit to thee by this meſſenger 5000 darics, which MEGABYZUS deſires thou wouldſt lay out for him in Grecian curioſities. If thou couldſt procure him any fine pieces of ſculpture wrought by the hand of PHIDIAS, or ſome pictures finiſhedby the pencil of ZEUXIS, it would be highly acceptable. When thou haſt made theſe purchaſes, thou mayſt convey them to thy brother at Epheſus, who has it in charge to ſend them to him. Farewell.

From Babylon. P.

LETTER XXXI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Salamis.

OUR expectations, noble ſcribe, that the lives of the ambaſſadors would be endangered, have prov'd too well grounded; and it gives me uneaſineſs even to relate an action, which the Athenians have ſhewn no regret in committing. The Peloponneſian ambaſſadors were thrown into priſon immediately upon their arrival, and a few days after put to death by a decree of the people, and their bodies caſt into pits without the rites of burial; neither could the privileges of their character preſerve them from the cruelty of the one,

nor the common ties of humanity ſecure to them the decent ceremony of the other. As an additional circumſtance of hardſhip I am told, that though they earneſtly deſired to be heard before ſentence was paſſed, they could not obtain a requeſt, never known to be denied to the greateſt criminals. The Athenians plead in their own excuſe, that they only retaliate upon the Lacedæmonians, who acted in the ſame barbarous manner, with regard to ſome merchants of Athens, whoſe veſſels they ſeized, trading upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus. But this will not, in any degree, juſtify a violation of the ſacred rights of publick miniſters; and I rather take their reſentment againſt the Lacedæmonians, for their late refuſal of peace, their hatred of ARISTEUS, for the ſhare he had in the revolt of their towns in Thrace, and perhaps the inſtigations of thoſe, who deſire a continuance of the war, to be the true cauſes of ſo extraordinary a proceeding. However, I cannot help obſerving, that whilſt both parties expreſs their enmity to each other, not by fair hoſtilities, or honourable contentions for the prize of national bravery, but by throwing off the principles of humanity, and committing acts of cruelty againſt thoſe, who are unable to defend themſelves; the name of Barbarians, with which they have injuriouſly branded the reſt of mankind, may with much more propriety be retorted on themſelves. It was impoſſible for me, who have no public character, to have uſed any intereſt in favour of theſe miſerable men, I ſhould have expoſed my own life to the ſuſpicions of the populace, with whom in their preſent rage, or rather madneſs,

no perſuaſions drawn either from intereſt or compaſſion, would have any weight.

The ſpirits of this people are much elated with the news lately arrived of the ſurrender of Potidea, which has held out two years, and is now given up to the Athenian generals, on conditions very favourable to the inhabitants, who are permitted to retire with part of their effects to Chalcis. The Athenians blame their generals for granting theſe terms; and maintain, that want of proviſions, and failure of relief, would have forced the place to ſurrender at diſcretion. But they certainly acted with judgment; for the army had ſuffered much, by lying in the field during the inclemencies of a Thracian winter, and the expences of the ſiege amounted already to 2000 talents.

The plague, I hear, daily decreaſes at Athens, which will give me an opportunity of removing my ſtation, and making enquiries myſelf on the ſcene of action, inſtead of hearkening to the reports of others at a diſtance from it. I ſhall there enquire further into the truth of an intelligence I lately received, that the diſpoſitions of the people are very favourable towards PERICLES; and that his friends are in great hopes, he will ſhortly recover his former authority, which conſidering the ſudden revolutions of popular governments, and the ſuperior talents of PERICLES, would not much ſurprize me. May the mighty OROMASDES, potent lord, preſerve the throne of CYRUS from the rude attacks of an unreſtrained multitude, the want of able ſupporters, and the union of the Greeks.

P.

LETTER XXXII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes in Ægypt.

AFter the account, which my laſt letter gave thee, CLEANDER, of the nature and genius of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics, I would in this proceed to conſider them in a very remarkable conſequence, they have had in the religious œconomy of this country; the worſhip, I mean, which thou haſt ſo often heard, is every where paid in it, to ſome or other of its home bred animals. This is indeed ſo ſtriking an article among the many national peculiarities of this people, that it would be an unpardonable want of curioſity in a foreigner, not to enquire a little into the reaſons upon which it is founded; and the ſtate of the caſe I take in few words to be this: that the ſeveral animals now worſhipped in Ægypt, having been at firſt applied as parts of a religious language, in the way of emblem already deſcribed to thee, to expreſs the natures, and attributes of Ægyptian gods, have by time acquired ſuch a degree of ſacredneſs, as to be themſelves added to the number of them. The temples here, of which there are great numbers, are all of them furniſhed with ſome animal repreſentation; and the ſtriking magnificence of their outſide ſtructure forms, I have often thought a good ridiculous contraſt to the contemptible meanneſs of the ſacred inhabitant within; which is, perhaps, a cat, an ape, or an ibis, the appropriated divinity of the par-

particular pile. The regard paid by the Ægyptians to the ſeveral ſpecies of animals, whoſe figures conſtitute this ſyſtem of religious emblemry, is really incredible but to an eye witneſs of it. They have their guardians or attendants appointed them by public authority, who are to provide them their diet and other accommodations; an office not eſteemed unworthy perſons of conſiderable rank, and which, as it is conducted, is in itſelf a matter of no ſmall expence, as well as delicacy. The executors of this truſt are diſtinguiſhed by certain inſignia proper to their order; and in conſequence hereof are intitled to very particular marks of reſpect and reverence from all, who either with deſign, or by accident, come in their way. In ſome inſtances, I am told, to have kill'd one of theſe conſecrated animals, though ever ſo much by hazard, is capital without remiſſion; and as often as they die of themſelves, either by ſickneſs, or old age, the whole proviſion, which is lodged in the houſe, where the death happens, is rendered unlawful to be made uſe of, and the funeral is performed with much ceremony, and attended with as great appearances of ſorrow, as we ſhould beſtow upon that of our neareſt kindred, or moſt indeared friends. After what I have obſerved to thee, CLEANDER, of the politic vanity of the prieſthood in this country, thou wilt not wonder, if ſome of theſe conſecrations are built upon reaſons ſo abſtruſe and recondite, as, however they may afford ſome kind of apology for this practice to the learned, can, I am ſure, adminiſter none to the vulgar, as lying much out of the reach of common apprehenſion. And to ſay the truth to thee, beſides that, as a Perſian, I have no

great

great opinion of temples in general, which, whilſt they give a ſplendor and majeſty to the outſide face of religion, ſeem to me calculated to ſully the inward purity of it, as ſuggeſting too confined an idea of the powers and preſence of the gods; I have ſtill a much greater difficulty with my ſelf to conceive, amidſt all thoſe refined pretences, which are here offered for this emblem worſhip, that the figure of a cat, or an ape, can be, in any regards, a fit repreſentative of thoſe adorable and moſt excellent natures, when, in the judgment of our wiſe and venerable Magi, not even the human form itſelf is allowed to be ſuch. Adieu.

O.

LETTER XXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

IT is with pleaſure that I inform thee, noble ſatrap, of my return to Athens, where the plague is almoſt entirely ceaſed, though the ravages it has made, the deſolation it has cauſed in the moſt conſiderable families, and the weak and diſpirited turn, it has given to the affairs of this ſtate in general, will be felt long after all ſymptoms of infection have diſappeared.

A very extraordinary event juſt preceded my arrival, the reſtoration of PERICLES to his former authority. Shall I ſay, the people have ſhewn their good ſenſe, or their folly, by their conduct with regard to him? the one in placing him at the helm, when conjunctures of difficulty and diſtreſs require a miniſter of experience and

and abilities; the other, by permitting their natural fickleneſs to appear ſo ſtrongly by ſuch a total change of their ſentiments, as now to reverence him as their protector and leader, whom, but a few months ago, they gave up with ignominy to the accuſations of his enemies, and thought guilty of the higheſt miſdemeanors.

PERICLES appeared wholly engaged in the domeſtic concerns of a private life, and was in the height of his grief for the loſs of PARALUS, the laſt of his legitimate children, when they invited him to accept his former office of general. ALCIBIADES, and his other friends, whoſe intrigues contributed not a little to this ſudden revolution, perſuaded him to come abroad, and ſhew himſelf to the people. They received him with great marks of affection and eſteem, and at their requeſt he has reſumed the adminiſtration of their affairs. His power is already ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he has procured the abrogation of a law he was himſelf the author of, which enacted, that none were to be deemed citizens of Athens, but thoſe, whoſe father and mother were both Athenians. At the time it paſſed, five thouſand Athenians loſt their liberty for want of the qualification, which it required, and were ſold for ſlaves. The only intent of its preſent repeal is, that he may be allowed to enroll his natural ſon in the regiſter of his tribe by his own name. Thus has PERICLES triumphed over the ſhort lived inſults of his enemies; and not only fix'd the natural inconſtancy of the Athenians in his favour, but even riſen from his fall with redoubled vigor; a circumſtance in which, either through his ſuperior fortune or ſuperior addreſs, he is yet unri-

valled

valled by the greateſt of his predeceſſors, who have conducted the counſels of this republic. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine, potent miniſter, that my deſire to uſe every methods that could poſſibly promote the ſervice of ARTAXERXES, and a curioſity very natural in ſuch caſes to be known to ſo eminent a perſon, would induce me to omit no opportunity of being introduced to PERICLES. My patron and friend PHILEMON, who from his long experience in buſineſs, and his ſingular humanity, has acquired the veneration and love of the whole city, and particularly of PERICLES, though he has ſometimes oppoſed his meaſures, has done me that kind office. I was preſented to him as a native of Epheſus, who having travelled over great part of the Eaſt, and acquir'd ſome knowledge of its cuſtoms and policies, and ſome taſte alſo for Grecian literature, was deſirous to ſpend the remainder of my life under the mild and juſt government of Athens. PERICLES received me with his uſual affability; and asked me whether I exerciſed any employment here: I told him (what I always anſwer to ſuch a queſtion) that my brother, who was a merchant of Epheſus, and had great correſpondence at Athens, tranſacted much of his buſineſs through my hands, but that the chief reaſon of my ſettling in this place was to enjoy the happineſs of obeying the excellent laws of ſo wiſe a ſtate, and to converſe with the inhabitants of a city, the moſt famed in Greece for learning and politeneſs. He ſeemed pleaſed with my anſwer, and enquired into ſeveral particulars relating to the manners of Aſia, the ſtrength and riches of Perſia, and the characters of the miniſters of the ſublime court. I found him no ſtranger to the ſhining qualities

of

of our monarch, or the great talents of MEGABYZUS, and thy ſelf. I am not without hopes, that my being admitted into the acquaintance of PERICLES may furniſh me with opportunities of acquiring a ſtill further knowledge of his character, deſigns, and the maxims of his politics. Preparations are going on here for the next year's campaign; twenty galleys are ready to ſail to Naupactus, which is a port very advantageouſly ſituated for interrupting the Corinthian navigation, and obſerving the motions of their fleet. The admiral, whoſe name is PHORMIO, is in ſuch repute for his valor and conduct, that the public choſe to pay his debts out of the treaſury, rather than be deprived of his ſervice. And here it may not be improper to lay before thee a ſhort account of the method uſed at Athens in ſetting forth their naval equipments. It is ſomething particular, and will give thee an idea of the military regulations of this people, as thou haſt already had of their civil. The expences of theſe preparations are not laid upon the people in general, but diſcharged by a claſs of the richeſt citizens, taken outof every tribe*. Any citizen, who is elected trierarch or commander of a galley, is obliged to accept the office, unleſs he can produce another citizen richer than himſelf. The informer muſt likewiſe propoſe to change eſtates with the other, who is forced to accept the propoſal under the penalty of fitting out the galley himſelf. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine, that this † law gives occaſion to frequent conteſts, delays, and evaſi-

* Sixteen are allotted to fit out each trirem.

† To which the poorer ſort, who are always the bulk of a nation, are ſtrongly attached.

ons; and before they can be accommodated, the ſeaſon for action is ſometimes loſt. Far different are the awful mandates of the great king, which are no ſooner deſigned, than executed with the utmoſt vigour. They are ſwift and irreſiſtible, like the piercing lightening ſhot from the hand of OROMASDES: Aſia trembles at them, and confeſſes its lawful ſovereign.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XXXIV.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

SHortly after my arrival and ſettlement in this city, I gave thee, potent lord, an acount of its extent and magnificence in general. Having ſince had opportunity of ſurveying its parts more exactly, I proceed now to give thee a fuller and more particular deſcription of them; and in doing this I ſhall chuſe to begin, where a ſtranger moſt naturally would, at the place of his landing, the port. This indeed conſiſts of two parts, the Piræeus and Phalerus, which together are the great emporium of trade, and the magazine of all their naval ſtores. Not that even theſe are without their ornaments, for in this we meet with the ſeveral temples of JUPITER, MINERVA, and CERES, and in particular an altar inſcribed TO THE UNKNOWN GOD, a remarkable inſtance of the great ſuperſtition, and, at the ſame time, the little foundation there is for it among this people. In the other, beſides ſeveral temples, there is a very neat portico, in which is a picture of THEMISTOCLES, by whoſe advice this port was converted from a court

of

of judicature to what it now is, and near to it his ſepulchre alſo; his citizens being willing to allow him a place among them when dead, which they refuſed him while alive, though whether he is really interr'd here or no, is very uncertain. In the paſſage from hence towards the city are one or two porticos, though of no great name, till you come to the Ceramicus, a quarter ſo called from a hero of that name, as ſome ſay, though others give it a much leſs noble derivation; and in this are an infinite number of temples, theatres, porticos, and ſtatues. Of the temples, the moſt remarkable is that ſacred to JUPITER THE DELIVERER, and built upon the expulſion of the Perſians; and cloſe by it is a noble portico, in which are painted the twelve ſuperior deities, as they are called here, and a figure of THESEUS, together with a repreſentation of that form of government, which prevails here, *viz.* democracy, conſiſting of a number of ſmaller figures ſo diſpoſed, as to form one uniform body, adorned with a crown and other enſigns of authority. Near this a very fine ſtatue of APOLLO ALEXIKAKON is juſt now erecting, as a token of their gratitude to him, for having freed them from the late terrible peſtilence. At ſome diſtance from hence is the court, where the great council of five hundred aſſemble, which is very properly adorned with the repreſentation of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR; and no one hand of this, another figure of the collective body of the people, on the other, the venerable portraits of DRACO, SOLON, and their other legiſlators, than which nothing can be more auguſt, eſpecially, as they are finiſhed by the maſterly hand of TIMANTHUS.

Near

Near this is a vaſt collection of ſtatues, ſome of their gods, others of their old kings and heroes; and yet numerous as they are, they aver, that they are now far ſhort of what they were, before the ſacking of the city by XERXES, who deſtroyed or carried away moſt of the beſt. It is in this quarter, that one of the greateſt curioſities in the city is found, namely a copious ſpring of freſh water, which is the only one in it; and cloſe by it is a temple, dedicated to the Eleuſinian CERES, too ſacred to be approached by any, but thoſe, who have been initiated into her venerable myſteries; ſo I can give no account of what it contains. Before it ſtands an ox very finely carved, and the ſtatue of a man called EPIMENIDES, whom they report to have ſlept forty years together in a cave, and at the end of that term to have appeared, to the infinite amazement of himſelf as well as friends. Near it is a ſtatue of the heavenly VENUS done by PHIDIAS, in ſo exquiſite a manner and taſte, that it may ſerve to convince poſterity of the happy genius of this great maſter, and be an inimitable ſpecimen of the productions and workmanſhip of this age.

A little above the Ceramicus is the famous portico called Pœcile, from the variety of admirable paintings, with which it is adorned. It is here, that ſome of the greateſt maſters in this art have employed all their skill, the ſubjects, as well as the finiſhing of them, having given a fine opportunity of ſhewing the extent of it. In the middle, is the battle of THESEUS with the Amazons; on one ſide the burning of Troy, with the portraits of their chief leaders in that famous expedition

edition, and on the other, a large and full repreſentation of the battle of Marathon, ſo fatal to the Perſian power, and ſo glorious to this city. In this thou wilt imagine, the painter would omit no circumſtance of doing honour to his country, or diſcredit to ours: the rout of our monarch's troops is too well and too livelily expreſs'd, not to raiſe the utmoſt concern and indignation in the faithful CLEANDER's breaſt; and though I am tempted by the fineneſs of the performance to ſpeak of it more fully, as well as I was to ſurvey it more cloſely, yet I forbear to dwell upon a ſubject, that muſt be equally diſagreeable to us both. Before it ſtands a group of ſtatues of their chief leaders and lawgivers; among whom SOLON, as he deſerves, is in a more eminent and diſtinguiſhed place; and at a little diſtance, my old friend PHILEMON pointed to an altar, which he ſaid was the only one in all Greece dedicated to Compaſſion; inſinuating, like a true Athenian, the peculiar humanity, on which they ſo much value themſelves. Near this (beſides the famous temple of THESEUS, CASTOR, *&c.* which I mentioned in my laſt) is the court called Prytaneum, where the original laws of SOLON are depoſited, and kept with the utmoſt care; and a temple ſo ancient, as to boaſt of DEUCALION, the great reſtorer of mankind, as they ſay, after a deluge, for its founder. Not far from hence is a part of the city called the gardens; and a ſtreet named the Tripods, where are two fine temples, one of BACCHUS, the other of Æſculapius, both remarkable for ſeveral exquiſite paintings, repreſenting the extraordinary actions of the one, and cures of the

other. From hence lies the aſcent, by marble ſteps, to the citadel or upper city, of which and the famous Parthenion in it I gave ſome deſcription in my former letter; and to give a minute and full one would exceed the limits of this. The great number of temples, and the ſtill greater of ſtatues and pictures, are not to be conceived: thoſe of MINERVA, as being the guardian and protectreſs of the city, ſtrike the eye in every part of it, but here in a particular manner. Here the conteſt between her and NEPTUNE is ſet forth in more than one place; and it is here, that a ſtatue of her in braſs formed out of the ſpoils taken at Marathon is placed, of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, as to be a mark for ſhips ſailing at a great diſtance. Beſide theſe appropriated to the gods and heroes, I ſhould inform thee, that there are ſeveral other public buildings, deſigned for places of exerciſe and entertainment. Their theaters in particular grow daily more and more ſplendid, and their gymnaſia are built with ſo much grandeur and magnificence, as to appear almoſt like towns; one of them in particular is four ſtadiums in circumference. And a little way from the city is another Ceramicus, deſigned and ſet apart for the burying place of all thoſe, who have done ſervice to their country by their lives, or honour to it by their deaths; near which is an encloſure and plantation called the Academy, to which the philoſophers and men of letters (here a large tribe) daily reſort, and entertain themſelves or their diſciples with diſquiſitions and debates upon all points of ſcience. In a word, it were endleſs to recite all the ſtructures and curioſities, with which this city abounds; and yet amidſt

all

all this pomp, and among the infinite number of buildings, it may ſeem wonderful, that there are none, but what are in honour to their gods and benefactors, or for publick uſe. They are as frugal in what are deſigned for their own ſervice, as they are expenſive in theſe. They build for the credit of public, not for private luxury; and if immortal natures could receive any ſatisfaction from the beauty and grandeur of the ſtructures dedicated to them, Athens would be no leſs the habitation of the gods, than they boaſt it to be of humanity and politeneſs. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XXXV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

I Have made it my buſineſs, ſage lord, to enquire into the lives and characters of ſuch Athenians, whether living or dead, as are moſt remarkable for the ſervices they have done their own country, or the miſchiefs they have done ours; and ſend thee ſome commentaries of them encloſed. In peruſing theſe, thou wilt ſoon be convinced, that it was not chance or ill fortune, which the Perſians are to blame for their defeats; when thou ſhalt learn, and by ſo many inſtances be convinced, of the reſolute but cool courage of MILTIADES, the ſteady inflexible integrity of ARISTIDES, the engaging virtues and humane deportment of CIMON (I mention not THEMISTOCLES, as thou wert no ſtranger to his abilities, while in the ſervice of

our great monarch) when thou ſhalt conſider the great and elevated ſoul of PERICLES, directing all his care and thought, his whole life and fortune to the ſervice of his country, impatient indeed of rivals, not becauſe he fears their eclipſing him, but that conſcious of his own ſufficiency and upright intentions, he is unwilling to have any obſtacles to controul him in his great deſigns. I ſay, when thou ſhalt conſider all theſe circumſtances, thou wilt be no longer ſurprized, that under ſuch powerful conductors, ſo ſmall a ſtate ſhould have ſo long withſtood and baffled the repeated attacks of the moſt formidable empire in the world. Nay, were it not for the counterpoiſe, that theſe heroes have in the perverſeneſs and folly, the fickleneſs and reſentment of thoſe, with whom they have to do, I ſhould not be without apprehenſion, that danger might approach even the throne of CYRUS. May the Greeks continue to fight our battles, by their unſeaſonable diſſentions; and while they have their CLEONS and TOLMIDES's, the deſigns of even a PERICLES muſt ever prove as abortive as they lately did, when he convened all the ſtates of Greece, and employed the utmoſt power of his eloquence, to engage them in a league againſt the great king, but to no purpoſe. But here I pauſe, and my ſoul even ſhudders, while I recite to thee a particular concerning THEMISTOCLES, little known, and therefore not inſerted among the relations, which I ſend thee. It ſeems, that ſhortly after obtaining that fatal victory over the Perſians (when the preſence of XERXES added to his diſgrace) in conjunction with, and by the aſſiſtance of the confederated fleet of all their allies, he made

made a propoſal to ARISTIDES (who was commiſſion'd by the city to receive and judge of it privately) to fall on and deſtroy that very fleet, in order to render Athens abſolute at ſea. ARISTIDES reported, that nothing indeed could be more advantageous to, or more promote the power of the commonwealth, than THEMISTOCLES's propoſal; but withal, that it would be the moſt unjuſt thing in the world to execute it. On this it was dropt, and THEMISTOCLES's friends ſay, that it was a high love and regard for his country, which alone put him on a deſign, which his ſoul otherwiſe would have abhorred. But can a love of one's country, or any other conſideration, excuſe ſuch horrible perfidy? No, potent ſatrap, we are no longer men, when we ſhake off the common principles of humanity; ſuch deſperate deſigns ſpeak a mind not to be controuled by any faith or by any ties; and he, who could ſo baſely think of ſacrificing his friends and allies to his country, would not ſcruple to ſacrifice even that country to his own intereſt or reſentments. Adieu.

From Athens. R.

The end of the ſecond year of the Peloponneſian war.

A. M. 3575. *4th year of the* 87*th Olymp.*

3d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THE danger, which threatens Athens, makes its approaches by ſlow but ſure ſteps. The Peloponneſians have made no incurſion upon the territory of Attica; they ſeem bent upon reducing ſuch cities, as are allied to their enemies, whereby they may be ſecured from their annoyance, and have a ſafe retreat even in an adverſary's country: they are now ſet down before Platæa, a city in firm alliance with this ſtate. ARCHIDAMUS the Lacedæmonian king, upon advancing toward the city, was addreſſed by deputation from the Platæans, who remonſtrated to him, how unjuſtifiable the hoſtilities were, which he was preparing, ſince the liberty and privileges of that city were conferred upon it by the unanimous voice of Greece, for their gallant behaviour in the Perſian war, and were in a particular manner confirmed by PAUSANIAS, the Lacedæmonian general, with a promiſe of inviolable ſecurity. ARCHIDAMUS made anſwer, that he had no objection to their pretenſions, provided they would join in reſcuing that common liberty from the tyranny of Athens, which they had ſo bravely defended againſt the arms of Perſia; or at leaſt, that they would be neutral as to all hoſtilities,

hoſtilities, and give them the ſame amicable reception they would the Athenians; or if they pleaſed, they might intruſt him with the poſſeſſion of their city, which he would preſerve from the leaſt damage, and reſtore to them with all its properties and immunities at the concluſion of the war; and in the mean time, would contribute what might be ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Anſwer was made to theſe propoſals, that they could not poſſibly yield to them, without acquainting the Athenians, who had their wives and children within their walls; and deſired a truce of three or four days for this purpoſe, which was accordingly allowed. The Platæan deputies were received here with expreſſions of the higheſt reſpect and affection, and aſſurance of fidelity to their engagements on the ſide of Athens, and were ſent back to the city with earneſt exhortations, that no conceſſions might be made to their common enemy; which ſo far prevailed upon the Platæans, that they reſolved to anſwer them from the walls.

Upon perceiving this, ARCHIDAMUS (as though it were impious to aſſault a city yet under the protection of its gods) after invoking the tutelar deity and guardian powers of Platæa, to witneſs the juſtice of his whole conduct in the amicable terms he had offered, and the juſt vengeance he was going to execute for their refuſal, blocked up the city. The ſeveral aſſaults he has made, though maintained with the utmoſt bravery, have proved unſucceſsful againſt the ſtratagems or reſolution, with which the Platæans either evade or repulſe

pulſe them; ſo that the event of this ſiege muſt be the ſubject of another letter.

If the Peloponneſians have been hitherto unſucceſsful at Platæa, the Athenians have been more ſo, in an expedition lately made by their army in Thrace. Two thouſand heavy armed men, and two hundred horſe, were ſent againſt the Chalcidians, under the joint command of three officers *. Upon their arrival near Spartolum (a town of the enemy's) they found a faction within the walls ready to ſurrender and receive them as friends, but were oppoſed by a contrary party, who had in the interim ſent to beg ſuccour of the Olynthians, which accordingly came and engaged the Athenians near Spartolum. The Chalcidian and auxiliary heavy armed ſoldiers were worſted, and fled into the town; but in another part of the action, their horſe and light armed men routed thoſe of the Athenians. A reſerve in the town, being reinforced by another ſmall party from the Olynthians, made a freſh attack upon the Athenians; upon which they retreated to their baggage, and joined two companies left there. From hence they annoy'd the enemy with their miſſive weapons, who gave ground, and the Athenians advanced forward, and they continued to retire. When the Athenians were drawn out into a convenient ſituation, the Chalcidian horſe attacked them, broke their ranks, and put them to flight. The three commanding officers and conſiderable part of the men are cut off, and the remnant of the defeated army took refuge in Ponti-

* XENOPHON and two others.

dæa.

dæa. I have ſent thee this ſhort account of the engagement, as it is brought by an expreſs juſt arrived from Thrace, not doubting but thou wilt have a more particular one by a nearer conveyance.

Thus do the foes of Perſia continue to waſte each other, and prevent by their own animoſities that vengeance, which they have reaſon to dread from thy councils and the arms of ARTAXERXES. I don't know, whether the ſhame and loſs of this defeat will ſo much affect the minds of this people, as another loſs they are like to ſuſtain; I mean that of PERICLES himſelf, whoſe health ſenſibly decays, which, I am perſuaded, ought to be more dear to them than the lives of thouſands. The plague, which raged here ſo lately amongſt all the ranks of men, ſpared not PERICLES; that active miniſter ſtruggled with his diſtemper, without remitting any thing of his concern for the public. But alas! how could a frail diſtemper'd body, keep pace with ſuch a ſoul? its efforts are too ſtrong for the bands, which united it; like a fierce lion in the toils, whoſe activity is reſtrained, it has almoſt burſt through its confinement, and will ſoon leave its unworthy concomitant, and fly to the abodes, which are allotted to thoſe, who have ſpent a life of toil and danger in the ſervice of their country.

From Athens. H.

LET-

LETTER XXXVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

*THough thou art by extraction a Greek, yet I no more ſuſpect thy attachment to the religion, than our generous monarch does thy fidelity to the government of Perſia. I know thou muſt alike diſapprove the unſteadineſs of thy country's polity and philoſophy. The ſcruples thou haſt imparted to me, I receive as an inſtance of tenderneſs to our faith, which you wiſh to ſee purged of all doubts. But this cannot be, CLEANDER; the origin, power, and dealings of ARIMANIUS with the ſons of men are myſterious and unaccountable; they puzzle the ableſt ſpeculatiſt with gloomy apprehenſions and inexplicable difficulties; while the contemplation of OROMASDES refreſhes the ſoul with agreeable truths, and branches out into innumerable paths of delightful knowledge. Wonder not at this, and expect not to have all thy doubts removed concerning the nature of that evil one, whoſe beſt emblem is darkneſs; rather withdraw thy attention, and place it where it may ever be employed with delight and ſatisfaction. How ſweet is the view of an expanded lawn, or the azure field of heaven, after the eye has been fatigued with prying into a difficult ſcheme, or narrowly viewing ſome complex piece of machinery? Such is the refreſhment the ſoul feels, when it turns

* Vide Letter 20.

from

from * ARIMANIUS to beloved YESDAN, from confuſion to order, from diſcord to peace, from the author of ill to the ever beauteous ſource of all good. I am unwilling to blame thy anxiety for man; yet thy knowledge of our holy prophet makes it blameable: he, one would think, ſhould have diſperſed the cloud, that hung over us, when he debaſed the enemy of our nature, the vile ARIMANIUS, who aſpired to equal the higheſt, and had infuſed an opinion of his equality into the minds of deluded mortals. The enlightned ſage was conſcious of his uſurpation; he queſtioned his ſovereignty, he dethroned the impoſtor, and pronounced him impotent. From that hour a ſweet ſerenity poſſeſſed the heart of true believers; an ineſtimable ſolace from the aſſurance, that we are altogether in the hands of benign YESDAN; a conſolation envied us by curſed AHRIMAN, which even now he labours to ſubvert, and leave thy boſom deſtitute of peace. But let not the dignity of OROMASDES ſuffer in thy opinion, who can as arbitrarily diſpoſe of ARIMANIUS, as of the meaneſt of his creatures; and will not fail to plunge him in everlaſting miſery, for his rebellious attempts to withdraw his adorers, when all the evil he delights in and is permitted to exerciſe, will prey upon himſelf. Theſe are truths, CLEANDER, taught by the wiſdom of ZERDUSHT, and are a purer emblem of the divinity, than the holy flame depoſited in the temple of BALCH. Reſt ſecure, that mankind, whom thou haſt ſuch a tender regard for, will find juſtice; every action

* YESDAN and AHRIMAN are two different names for OROMASDES and ARIMANIUS.

will

will be weighed in the balance of thoſe angels, who guard that bridge, which all mortals muſt paſs. Our own deeds will determine our happineſs, or doom us to the kingdom of AHRIMAN. What! ſayeſt thou, ſhall the wicked AHRIMAN be permitted to puniſh thoſe whom he has ſeduced? Doubt it not, CLEANDER; they, who liſten'd to his ſuggeſtions, will have their lot with him. To inflict ill is an imperfection; the great OROMASDES cannot do it; thoſe therefore, whoſe lives call for puniſhment, are aſſigned over to that being, who is the parent of all ill. OROMASDES only draws his protection from the unhappy wretches, and ARIMANIUS ſtrait perceives, that his dominion is enlarged; he takes poſſeſſion of them, as quickly as darkneſs takes the place of light, when the lovely MITHRAS ſinks beneath the weſtern mountains.

Is it not enough, that we know AHRIMAN is our foe? that he triumphs in our weakneſs? Is not this all the knowledge of him, that is uſeful to us? Muſt we alſo enquire into his origin, and the reaſon of his power? Shall we not truſt the counſels of heaven, unleſs we be made privy to them; which, like a dazling beam of light upon the feeble eye-ball, would confound inſtead of enlightning the human mind? When we make any real progreſs in ſcience, how ſlow and ſhort are our ſteps? Yet we ſuffer ourſelves to graſp at immenſity, to ſtretch the imagination beyond the limits of time, and enquire into the nature of eternity, whether good and evil be of equal duration, and whether in conſequence their power muſt be the ſame; whether if AHRIMAN had a beginning, he can without impiety be number'd amongſt

amongſt the works of OROMASDES; or whether the elements (from whence the frame of nature was call'd forth by the voice of OROMASDES) are not of a generative power, and in the confuſion of chaos in their utmoſt diſcord, during their moſt impure mixture and defilement, produced this evil one. A thouſand volumes have been employed on theſe ſubjects without ſucceſs; for ſome truths can never be diſcloſed, becauſe providence has purpoſely thrown a veil over them. AHRIMAN cannot, ſay the learned, be part of the creation, becauſe he partakes nothing of the divine original. It is moſt certain, that hateful and malignant being, ſo repugnant to the deity in his will and actions, could not receive ſo deteſtable a form of nature from ſo pure a cauſe. It is not long ſince (as thou knoweſt) the thrice venerable OSTANES dwelt amongſt us, whoſe wiſdom, as grateful as a refreſhing dew to the parched earth, ſunk into the boſom of his thirſty hearers. He was deeply skilled in the invariable laws of nature, and judged ſoberly of the motives of providence itſelf. He would often ſay, the elements, and whatever is merely of their compoſition, have the arbitrary will of YESDAN as a law; they are governed by neceſſity, and know no choice. Where God has given reaſon, he has made the actions of that being free and the reſult of reaſon; man therefore is free, and the moſt exalted heavenly ſpirits are free as man, and may chooſe amiſs like him, until by a ſteady perſeverance in right they render themſelves habitually good, and make a nearer approach to their maker, who cannot do ill. Such a one as thoſe I can ſuppoſe the curſed AHRI-

MAN

MAN once to have been, a refined ſpirit full of excellence and beauty, when he aroſe from the creating hand of OROMASDES, fit to preſide over and regulate the frame of nature, and perhaps employed in that glorious ſervice, happy in the powers of his nature, in his eminence of ſtation and the contemplation of his immortality. I can conceive him venturing even to doubt, whether there be a power ſufficient to diſſolve an immortal ſpirit like himſelf (which brought into being ſeemed to have an independent title to eternity and happineſs) and to miſapply reaſons, till he had engaged himſelf in a thought of revolting from God, and (which he ſtill ſo induſtriouſly aims at) of retaining in the worſhip of himſelf alone that part of the univerſe, which he ſuperintended. The Almighty would not counteract his own wiſe decree; he would not interfere with freedom, which his all ſeeing eye then perceived to be abuſed: but from that moment he withdrew his cheriſhing influence from the apoſtate ſpirit, who was as it were expelled that preſence, which gladdens the univerſe. Immediately he ſhed all his excellence; his comelineſs fell from him, and he abhorred his own deformities, but much more all that was fair and good, which could upbraid him with the glory he had forfeited, and his preſent execrable lot. The wicked conceptions he had indulged himſelf in were now unreſtrained, and the ſole good he could propoſe was the gratification of himſelf in ill.

Mayſt thou, CLEANDER, find arguments herein to appeaſe thy doubts, and juſtify to thyſelf the ways of providence, ſo as to look with indifference on the dangers,

gers, to which the nature of thy employment ſubjects thee; and if they ſhould take hold of thee, to bear thy fate with leſs concern than we, who know thee, muſt hear the report. Adieu.

From Balch in Bactria. H.

LETTER XXXVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I Have now found leiſure, noble ORSAMES, to complete my deſign of giving thee a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of philoſophy in Greece; and however imperfect the execution of it proves, let me venture to hope, that by taking my ſhare in this literary correſpondence, I make the moſt ſuitable return to the letters thou haſt lately favoured me with, on the hieroglyphical learning of the Ægyptians; a ſubject, on which it might be eaſily imagined, that the acuteneſs of thy judgment, and the elegance of thy ſtile, would both diſplay themſelves to advantage.

In our philoſophical progreſs we have already gone through the ſect of THALES, and are next to paſs through that of PYTHAGORAS. This celebrated philoſopher, born in the 430 olympiad, was (according to the general opinion) the ſon of a ſculptor at Samos; but the meanneſs of his parentage did not hinder him from being educated under one of the greateſt men of his time, PHERECYDES of Syrus, who firſt taught the immortality of the ſoul. Upon his death, PYTHAGORAS determined to trace ſcience as it were up to its fountain

fountain head, and to ſupply himſelf with freſh ſtores of it in thoſe parts of the world, where it ſeems to have ariſen. Animated by this deſire of knowledge, he ſubmitted to that tedious and diſcouraging courſe of preparatory diſcipline, which is neceſſary to obtain the benefit of Ægyptian initiation. When he had made himſelf a thorough maſter of the ſciences, which are cultivated in the ſacerdotal colleges of Thebes and Memphis, he purſued his travels through the Eaſt, converſing with the Magi and Indian Brachmans, and mixing their doctrines with thoſe he had learnt in Ægypt. He afterwards ſtudied the laws of MINOS at Crete, and thoſe of LYCURGUS at Sparta. Having ſpent the earlier part of his life in this uſeful manner, 'tis no wonder, if he returned to Samos well acquainted with every thing curious either in nature or art in foreign countries, improv'd with all the advantages proceeding from a regular and laborious courſe of learned education, and adorned likewiſe with that knowledge of mankind, which is neceſſary to gain the aſcendant over them. PYTHAGORAS accuſtomed to freedom diſliked the arbitrary government of POLYCRATES, then tyrant of Samos, and retired to Crotona in Italy, where he opened a ſchool of philoſophy; and by the gravity and ſanctity of his manners, the importance of his tenets, and the peculiarity of his inſtitutions, ſoon ſpread his fame and influence over Italy and Greece. Among other projects, which he uſed to create reſpect and gain credit to his aſſertion, he concealed himſelf in a cave, and cauſed it to be reported, that he was dead; then after ſome time he came abroad, and pretended that

that the intelligence, which his friends gave him in his retreat, of the tranſactions of Crotona, was collected, during his ſtay in the other world among the ſhades of the departed. He formed the diſciples, who came from all parts to put themſelves under his direction, into a kind of republic, where none were admitted till a ſevere probation had ſufficiently exerciſed their patience and docility. He afterwards divided them into the eſoteric and exoteric claſſes: to the former he entruſted the more ſublime and ſecret doctrines, to the latter the more ſimple and popular. This great man found himſelf able to unite the character of the legiſlator to that of the philoſopher, and to rival LYCURGUS and ORPHEUS in the one, PHERECYDES and THALES in the other; following, in this particular, the patterns ſet him by the Ægyptian prieſts, his inſtructors, who are not leſs celebrated for ſettling the religious than the civil œconomy of their nation. In imitation of them, PYTHAGORAS gave laws to the republic of Crotona, and brought the inhabitants from a ſtate of luxury and diſſoluteneſs, to be eminent for order and ſobriety. Whilſt he lived, he was frequently conſulted by the neighbouring republics, as the compoſer of their differences, and the reformer of their manners; and ſince his death (which happened about the 70th olympiad, in a tumult raiſed againſt him by one CYLON) the adminiſtration of their affairs has generally been intruſted to ſome of his diſciples, amongſt whom, to produce the authority of their maſter for any aſſertion, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh the truth of it without further enquiry. The moſt celebrated of the philoſophical noti-

ons of PYTHAGORAS are thoſe concerning the nature of the deity, the tranſmigration of ſouls into different bodies (which he borrow'd from the Brachmans) and the ſyſtem of the world. As to the former, he held, that God was diffuſed through all parts of the univerſe, like a kind of univerſal ſoul, pervading every particle of matter, and animating every living creature, from the moſt contemptible reptile to mankind themſelves, who ſhare a larger portion of the divine ſpirit. The metempſychoſis was founded on this maxim, that as the ſoul was of cœleſtial origin, it could not be annihilated, and therefore, upon abandoning one body, neceſſarily removed into another; and frequently did penance for its former vicious inclinations, in the ſhape of a beaſt or inſect, before it appeared again in that of a human creature. He pretended, that he had a particular faculty given him by the gods, of remembring the various bodies his own ſoul had paſſed through, and confounded cavillers by referring them to his own experience. In his ſyſtem of the world, the third doctrine, which diſtinguiſhes his ſect, he ſuppoſed, that the ſun was at reſt in the centre, and that the earth, the moon, and the other planets moved round it in different orbits. He pretended to have great skill in the myſterious properties of numbers, and held that ſome particular ones contained a peculiar force and ſignificancy; but whether theſe were his own whimſical fancies, or the refinements of his followers, I know not. It is certain he was a great geometrician, and inveſtigated a famous problem, which goes by his name; nor was he leſs skilled in the knowledge of nature, though I give no

credit to the miraculous ſecrets he is ſuppoſed to be maſter of, neither will I tire thee by mentioning ſuch idle fables. This remarkable circumſtance may ſerve to conclude my account of him, that he was the firſt, who called himſelf by the modeſt title, *Philoſopher*, a lover of wiſdom only; whereas the ſages, his predeceſſors, ſtiled themſelves *Sophoi*, the wiſe, arrogantly aſſuming a name, which the voice of mankind alone has a right to beſtow, and ſuppoſing they poſſeſs'd what moſt of them all their lives purſued without obtaining.

There are few particulars known concerning ARISTÆUS, who ſucceeded him in the Italic ſchool, or MNEMARCHUS his ſon, who had next the honour to be advanced to his father's place. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum is at preſent the moſt celebrated philoſopher of this ſect: there are ſeveral wonderful ſtories told of him. He ſeems, like PYTHAGORAS, to be an able naturaliſt, exalted into a magician by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious. According to him, the four elements are the firſt principles of all things, which continue in a perpetual flux and agitation, occaſioned by two different qualities, an uniting and a ſeparating one, which, as they prevail, vary the productions and effects of nature. DEMOCRITUS of Abdera (with whom I will conclude this account of the Greek philoſophy) has made himſelf famous, by maintaining the atomical ſyſtem; of which I ſhall only ſay, that it excludes the exiſtence of a deity, and aſcribes the formation of the world to the fortuitous concourſe of unperiſhable atoms endued with motion.

The ſtrange humour and temper of the man is not unſuitable to ſo ſtrange a doctrine; he finds occaſion for laughter in every incident of human life; a funeral or a triumph, an aſſembly of ſenators or a company of fools contribute equally to his mirth; juſt the contrary character to HERACLITUS of Epheſus, who finds occaſion for tears in the ſame actions, which excite laughter in the other. Theſe are the chief ſyſtems of philoſophy prevailing at preſent in Greece; and the profeſſors of them, while they outwardly conform to the religion of the country, are not only tolerated, but meet with public honours and encouragement. Thou mayſt eaſily judge from the differences, which are allowed in the moſt important points, as the nature of the gods, the ſoul's immortality, and a future ſtate, that the religion of the Greeks conſiſts rather in a variety of ceremonies and rites, adapted to the particular powers and attributes of their local deities, than in matters of belief, and eſtabliſhed doctrines in philoſophical opinions. Thou wilt likewiſe obſerve, on what unſtable foundations the knowledge of nature is at preſent built, whilſt every ſect frames a peculiar hypotheſis (which has no relation either in the general principles, or particular branches of it to any of the reſt) and then endeavours to balance the want of reaſons by the weight of numbers; as if the only point to be conſidered was, how to perplex mankind by the variety of oppoſite tenets, inſtead of enlightening their underſtandings; to overbear them by poſitive aſſertions, inſtead of convincing them by ſolid arguments. Till thoſe happy times ſhall come, when nature may perhaps deign to

unfold her ſecrets to the ſearches of inquiſitive mortals, let us be contented to gratify our curioſity in theſe ſpeculations, without expecting from them much real improvement in ſcience. Farewell.

P.

LETTER XXXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

IT was not without reaſon, my HYDASPES, that when I promiſed thee an account of the Grecian poets and hiſtorians, I began with the characters of the former; ſince it is certainly true (though it may ſeem a kind of paradox to ſay it) that poetical fiction was univerſally received in the world before hiſtorical certainty. Hence is it, that fable has uſurped the place of truth, and except tradition, we have ſcarce a guide to conduct us in our ſearches through the darker and more myſterious ages of antiquity. The Grecian hiſtory is an eminent proof of this remark, ſince the earlieſt æra of it is very differently ſtated by the different authors, who have written upon it. Some ſay, there is nothing certain before the Trojan war; and that no compiler appeared, who was held in any degree of reputation, till above 500 years after it. Others there are, who date from the beginning of the olympiads; and many believe, that period in the annals of time, which is ennobled by the reign of our great CYRUS, the firſt, whoſe authority may be relied on. If thou ſhould ſuggeſt to thyſelf, that perhaps the writers, I am now ſpeaking of, lay no ſort of weight upon the

credit of the oldeſt traditions, give me leave to add, that ſeveral have expoſed themſelves to the juſteſt cenſure by falling into the contrary extreme. Such as they, who ſtudious of ſhewing their regard to the ancient reformers, deliverers, or benefactors of mankind, have overheated their imagination, quitted the common theatre of life, and ſoaring beyond the bounds of human probability, have loſt themſelves in thoſe clouds, to which they have exalted their heroes. I ſhall not pretend to determine, which of theſe are in the right; whether the latter, for fear of neglecting ſome hiſtorical facts, have not expreſſed too much dependance on the authority of the poets and tradition; or whether the former, for fear of giving into fiction and rhapſody, have not unreaſonably deſpiſed the authority of both. But this we may venture to pronounce, that in all the accounts, which have been given us of the firſt times, it is out of the power of any one to decide, where the truth begins, or the fable concludes.

I muſt own to thee, HYDASPES, I have often endeavoured to trace, in ſpeculation, the cauſe of that error and confuſion, which prevails among the precarious traditions of the Greek antiquity: and though the ſearch has too commonly ended in refinement, yet the very mention of it at preſent invites me to put down thoſe conjectures in writing, which have long exerciſed my thoughts in private.

In former ages, the Grecians are repreſented as ſavage and illiterate, poſſeſſed of no public annals or records, which alone can aſcertain the truth of hiſtorical facts, relying barely on traditional relations, unpractiſed

in

in all the neceſſary arts of life and government. After ſome centuries it appears, that they received the culture of humanity from Phœnician and Ægyptian colonies; by the firſt of whom they were inſtructed in trade, navigation, and the uſe of letters; by the laſt, they were initiated into civil wiſdom, the politer ſciences, and religious myſteries. Thou knoweſt, that the abſtruſeſt and moſt excellent part of the Ægyptian learning is allegorical; and it is generally believed, that many of their emblematical fables were tranſplanted into Greece, and embraced with a ſuperſtitious regard by the ignorant multitude. The deſign of theſe allegories is, to conceal the important doctrines of religion from vulgar apprehenſion; and moſt of them bear a beautiful reſemblance to divers actions in hiſtory, or appearances in morals or in nature. Hence aroſe the number of monſtrous ſtories, concerning their deities and heroes, which the primitive Greek ſages (ſome of whom were informed in theſe points by the Ægyptians, who had ſettled among them, and others had travelled to the very colleges of the prieſts for information) underſtood and explained to their ſcholars. But when thoſe ſtories fell afterwards into the hands of fanciful men, many new ones were added to the old ones, which defaced the beauty of the alluſions, and the allegorical ſenſe being perverted or forgot, the literal alone remains. Thus the ſhadow is preſerved inſtead of the ſubſtance; hiſtorical certainty has been loſt amidſt theſe emblematical fables, and the firſt inventors of allegory have vitiated and corrupted that truth, which they only intended to diſguiſe. In a word, the my-

thology of the Greeks is intermingled with their hiſtory, and is one principal cauſe of its uncertainty.

It has already been inſinuated, that the ancient Greeks tranſmitted no original annals or records to poſterity, on which it were poſſible to 'ground an hiſtory of the early ages: but may I not be permitted to ſuppoſe, that had any genuine records of a nation, ſo long uncultivated as the Grecian, eſcap'd out of the ruins of barbarous antiquity, they would have proved too jejune and unintereſting to afford any good materials for an hiſtory? For indeed what could be expected from a country, one while overrun with ſpoil and rapine, where the inhabitants purſued no uniform method of life, continually wandring and unfix'd, like a lawleſs rout of ſavages? or what could be expected from a people, another while employed in the lingering work of reformation, endeavouring to lay aſide the rudeneſs of their manners, and to exert, though faintly, the rational faculties of their nature? Nothing, that would not have been unworthy the notice of future generations, and beneath the dignity of hiſtory to dwell upon. In order therefore to compenſate for this defect, the hiſtorians as well as rhapſodiſts, in treating of thoſe ages, have been obliged to make up in fiction, what they wanted in reality; and the firſt times are rather to be conſidered as a period adorned with the fables of poetry, than eſtabliſhed on undoubted monuments. But however the devices of fancy may delight and amuſe us, in reading of the dark ages I am now mentioning, they could never have contributed to our entertainment, had they been thrown into the accounts of ſucceeding times.

'Tis

'Tis there we require ſomething more ſolid, nor ſhould we be inclined to bear with the overwrought productions of fable. For when the Grecians united in ſociety, and royalties and commonwealths were introduc'd, we find ourſelves arriving at greater certainty every ſtep we take, and the light of hiſtorical truth breaking in upon us, the further we advance. Nor will this be a matter of wonder to thee, HYDASPES, when thou conſidereſt, that the one may be regarded, as the cauſe and parent of the other. 'Twas good government, which gave life and being to hiſtory, and the juſt legiſlator made way for the judicious annaliſt. For as in youth, while the judgment is unſteady, and the principles of men are forming, imagination is apt to ſupply the want of prudence; but when they come to years of maturer diſcretion, their cooler and more deliberate reaſon takes place: ſo the province of poetical invention is very wiſely ſeated in the infancy of the world, while the order of government was neglected, and mankind continued in a ſtate of nature; but when political ſocieties increaſed, and civil inſtitutions were formed, the intereſts and policy of contending ſtates opened at once a ſeries of ſurprizing actions, far excelling the legends of the poets, and preſented a fair topic to the pen of an hiſtorian. Adieu.

C.

LETTER XL.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe, &c.

AN univerſal ſorrow and confuſion reign at preſent in this city; the old and the young, the civil magiſtrate and the military officer, the private citizen, and the recluſe ſcholar, join equally in deploring the irretrievable misfortune, which has befallen Athens, and look upon themſelves as equally involved in its fatal conſequences. Thou mayſt at firſt imagine, potent lord, that the late devouring peſtilence has returned; that the naval force of this republic, its ornament and bulwark, has been defeated by the formidable fleet of Corinth; or that the victorious arms of Peloponneſus have waſted Attica with fire and ſword, and are now forming the ſiege of its metropolis. But none of theſe calamities have happened; and to detain thee no longer, thou wilt not, I believe, be ſurprized at ſo general a concern, when I inform thee that PERICLES is dead, whoſe counſels have ſet his countrymen at the head of Greece, whoſe ſteady conduct has carried them with honour through the greateſt difficulties, and whoſe military skill has given motion to their fleets and armies, during an adminiſtration of forty years. He died this evening at his houſe in the Ceramicus, of a fever, that has hung upon him for ſeveral months, and was occaſioned by a ſevere ſhock, which his conſtitution received from the plague, when it raged here, which all the art of phyſic, though exerted by HIPPOCRATES

POCRATES himſelf, could never reſtore. His greatneſs of ſoul and natural flow of ſpirits made him diſregard the approaches of danger: he was ſeen every day in the aſſemblies of the people, exhorting them to continue the war with a vigour becoming the Athenian name, and pointing out to them the methods of ſupplying the expence of it. He uſed to ſit late in the ſenate, debating on projects for diſtreſſing the enemy, and ſecuring the commerce of Athens, or drawing up diſpatches for their commanders and miniſters abroad. He frequently viſited the fortifications and harbour; examined every thing with his own eyes, one while preſſing forward the equipment of their ſhips, through all the delays, which the manner of fitting them out here neceſſarily occaſions; at another reviewing the troops, and ſtrengthning the city with additional works; till at laſt, as the weakneſs of his body by no means anſwered the zeal of his heart for the public ſervice, he was obliged to leave off appearing abroad, and to call in that aſſiſtance from phyſic, which he had too long neglected.

Upon the firſt news of his confinement, crowds of people daily flocked to the temples, particularly thoſe of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR, and MINERVA the patroneſs of Athens, to ſollicit, with prayers and offerings, the continuance of ſo valuable a life, as the greateſt national bleſſing they could beſtow, and the ſtrongeſt proof, that Athens was ſtill under the protection and auſpicious influence of her guardian deities. During the ſhort gleams of hope, and quick returns of fear, which ſucceeded each other in the progreſs of the diſtem-

diſtemper, all publick affairs were at a ſtand; no news from their armies or ſquadrons enquired after; and the truth of an old obſervation verified, that mankind more ſenſibly perceive the excellence of any thing from the want than the enjoyment of it.

The behaviour of PERICLES, in the whole courſe of his illneſs, was compoſed and magnanimous, entirely conſiſtent with the reſt of his life, and agreeable to the calm fortitude he had always ſhewn both in the adverſity and proſperity of his fortunes. I was myſelf a witneſs to a pretty remarkable incident. As ſome of his friends not many days before his death were ſitting in his chamber, and diſcourſing of his virtue and authority, his memorable actions, and the trophies he had ſet up, whilſt he commanded the armies of the republic, not imagining that he was then attending to their converſation; on the ſudden he called out to us, that all the circumſtances, which we had mentioned, were common to him with the other great men, whom Athens had produced; and that beſides, fortune might lay claim to part of the merit of them: but, continued he, you have omitted what I moſt value myſelf upon, that in my whole adminiſtration none of my fellow citizens ever wore mourning on my account. We, who were then preſent, were ſo moved with this ſpeech, that we melted into tears, which I dare ſay a man of PERICLES his ſenſe took for the higheſt panegyric we could beſtow, as I am ſure it was the moſt natural.

I have taken care to ſend away my diſpatch by a ſhip, that ſails immediately out of the port for Epheſus; and as the wind ſets fair, and the expreſs, who is charg'd with

with it, is uſed to expeditious journies, I doubt not but it will bring the earlieſt advice to the court of Perſia of this remarkable and intereſting event. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XLI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, firſt miniſter to ARTAXERXES.

I Have already, noble ſatrap, acquainted the chief ſcribe with the death of PERICLES, and the remarkable circumſtances that attended it. It will be now a very natural as well as uſeful ſpeculation, to take a general ſurvey of his life, to examine into the maxims of his politicks, the methods by which he gained and preſerved his authority, and to lay open his temper and turn of mind. In doing this, I ſhall have recourſe both to the encomiums of his friends and the accuſations of his enemies; and endeavour to ſteer between the extremes of exalting ſo remarkable a character, through a mean compliance with the former, or derogating from the true merit of it, through a tincture of the envious diſpoſitions of the latter. I will neither heighten the colouring of the picture, or bring the ſhades too forward; but exhibit, as accurately as I can, a faithful yet not a diſagreeable likeneſs.

PERICLES was deſcended from the nobleſt families in Athens. His father XANTIPPUS defeated the Perſians at the famous battle of Mycale; his mother AGARISTE was grandaughter to CLISTHENES, who drove out the uſurping race of PISISTRATUS.

It

It may ſeem ſurprizing, that a perſon, whoſe birth and education muſt have diſpoſed him to join with that part of the city, which was the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their families and fortunes, ſhould yet, upon his firſt appearance in buſineſs, embrace that of the people, and ſteadily adhere to it in the courſe of his political conduct. But very ſufficient reaſons may be aſſigned for it: the principal of them was, that when he began to appear as a candidate for the offices and honours of the ſtate, CIMON was univerſally regarded as the champion of the ariſtocratical faction; and there was no other way to counterbalance his authority, or eſtabliſh his own upon the ruins of it, than by ſiding with the oppoſite party. He diſdained to be ſecond amongſt the former, when he could be firſt amongſt the latter. For the great maxim, which one may trace through all his actions, was to place his country at the head of Greece, and himſelf at the head of his country.

During the long and warm conteſts, which PERICLES maintain'd with CIMON, and afterwards with THUCYDIDES, the one illuſtrious for his military glory and liberal temper, the other well skilled in eloquence and civil policy, he ſhewed himſelf a moſt artful and deſigning ſtateſman. He induſtriouſly ſought out every method, that could fix a volatile forgetful people in his intereſts; and whilſt he was thus heated with oppoſition, and ſometimes perſonally endanger'd from the practices of his enemies, it muſt be own'd he too often conſulted what might ſerve the preſent occaſion, than what would turn to the future advantage of the public. Unable by his private fortunes to emulate the generous

generous hoſpitality of CIMON, he propoſed, that a large fund of money, ſet apart for the neceſſities of a war, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor citizens, every time they frequented the theatre at the repreſentation of a new play. It is no wonder, after he had procured a law, which paid them for going where their love of pleaſure alone would have invited them, that he ſhould be the author of another, which aſſigns a certain ſalary to them for doing their duty to their country, by attending the aſſemblies, and ſerving in the courts of juſtice. Whilſt I am mentioning arts of this nature, which ſet PERICLES to view in the light rather of a ſelf-intereſted miniſter, than a uſeful patriot to his country, I cannot omit his reducing the power of the venerable tribunal of the AREOPAGUS, which (as I hinted in a former * letter) he did with an intent to pay his court to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles his enemies; though at the ſame time the intereſt of the public ſuffered, by having the greateſt barrier againſt the natural licentiouſneſs of Athens almoſt entirely removed. The † magnificent buildings, fine ſtatues, and other public works, which were erected at ſuch a vaſt expence, in the courſe of his miniſtry, were owing to theſe motives; to gain the good will of the people in general, for having been the propoſer and inſpector of ſuch grand undertakings, which rendered their city the admiration and reſort of ſtrangers, and the chief ornament of Greece; to enrich the uſeful

* Vide Letter 13. † Ibid. 11 and 34.

artiſt,

artiſt, and induſtrious mechanic, and by ſuch a circulation of labour and wealth, to employ thoſe citizens, whoſe poverty and factious diſpoſitions might have incited them to better their own conditions, by diſturbing the ſecurity of the public. Laſtly to acquire a reputation for himſelf, as durable and ſtriking as the works themſelves, which were brought to perfection in fewer years, than moſt people imagined they would be ages in finiſhing. One circumſtance indeed contributed to raiſe a great load of envy againſt him; it was, that in order to defray the immenſe charges of theſe works, he removed the public treaſure of Greece from Delos, where it uſed to be kept, to Athens, where he had himſelf the direction of it. His enemies, both foreign and domeſtic, had the moſt plauſible topic imaginable of accuſation againſt him, when they aſſerted the injuſtice of laying out the ſums contributed by the Grecian allies towards the expences of a Perſian war, in adorning one particular city. PERICLES likewiſe rendered himſelf very popular by a uſeful ſcheme, which he propoſed, that a large ſquadron of gallies ſhould be ſent out every year, with a fix'd number of citizens on board in pay for eight months, in order to ſupply their colonies abroad, and ſail round the coaſt and iſlands of Greece, to collect the tributes paid by the allies to the Athenians. By putting this project in execution, two important ends were gained; the eſtabliſhing a perpetual nurſery for ſeamen, and the making the Athenian flag reſpected in whatever part of the ſea it was diſplayed. Thou canſt not wonder, potent miniſter, if by theſe methods his commanding eloquence

quence and ſingular art of managing popular aſſemblies, he not only ſtood his ground againſt CIMON and THUCYDIDES, but puſhed his advantages ſo far, as to baniſh them both by oſtraciſm. Yet he ſhewed his love for his country in the midſt of his reſentment, for before the term of CIMON's baniſhment was expired, he drew up himſelf a decree for recalling him at the earneſt deſire of the people, then preſſed with an unſucceſsful war againſt Lacedæmon. It is obſerv'd of PERICLES, that after he had ſurmounted all oppoſition, and got the management of affairs into his own hands, there was a remarkable change in his conduct: he was no longer ſo compliant with every demand of the people, or ſo ready to fall in with their notions, and contrive ſchemes merely to pay his court to them; but conſtantly purſued the regular plan of meaſures, which his prudence dictated, notwithſtanding their fickleneſs and diſcontent; and partly by the aſcendant he had gained over their minds, partly by the force of his oratory, obliged them to comply ſo entirely with whatever he propoſed, that the government of Athens, during his life time, may be ſaid to have been in appearance popular, but in truth monarchical. And certainly, as it contributed not a little to fix the Athenian glory and power on a ſolid baſis, that the influence of a ſingle man was an over-balance to all the inconveniences and uncertain politics of republican conſtitutions; ſo no man in the city deſerved to poſſeſs ſuch an influence but PERICLES. For his natural genius was ſtrong, penetrating, and extenſive, heightened by all the additional luſtre, that learning and philoſophy

(which he chiefly owed to ANAXAGORAS) could afford; nor was he unacquainted with muſic and the politer arts. Theſe accompliſhments, joined to the politeneſs and dignity of his behaviour, endeared him to his fellow citizens; but thoſe, which rendered him conſiderable amongſt them, were his maſterly talents of working upon their hopes and fears, ſo as, with the one to check their exceſſive confidence, when they were proudly elated with ſucceſs; with the other, to raiſe their drooping ſpirits, in conjunctures of difficulty and misfortune; and next the uſe and comprehenſion of the political maxims, which he conſtantly inculcated: "as that the Athenians, inſtead "of waſting themſelves by foreign expeditions, ſhould "contend for the chief place among the Grecian "ſtates; that they ſhould take every opportunity of "improving their naval force, and permitting no "other to lay claim to the dominion of the ſea; that "they ſhould maintain their dignity and honour to the "height, and ſuffer no inſults, however ſeemingly "ſmall, without making ſuitable returns, becauſe a "tame and paſſive behaviour in thoſe caſes only laid "them open to greater inſults." Theſe (if I may uſe the expreſſion) were the great outlines of his politics, and will, if attended to, afford us a ſurer clue to his conduct, than the calumnies of his enemies, and the idle ſcandal of the comic poets. Is it not, for inſtance, much more rational and fair, to attribute the war of Samos to the neceſſity, which he thought there was of humbling a people, that had refuſed the Athenian mediation, and were able to diſpute the prize of naval

power with Athens herſelf, than to the intereſt of his miſtreſs ASPASIA, whoſe countrymen of Mitylene (it is pretended) had been injured by the Samians? Does he not appear to have acted for the good of his country, when he diſcouraged them from exhauſting their treaſures and money in diſtant ſchemes, againſt Sicily and Perſia, at a time when a danger nearer home threatened them? And whoever conſiders the ſtate of affairs in Greece, ſome years before the Peloponneſian war broke out, muſt be convinced, that the jealouſy of Sparta and her allies againſt the riſing empire of Athens, and the aſpiring ſpirit and arbitrary proceedings of the latter, were ſufficient of themſelves to excite the war, without any mixture of the private intereſt of PERICLES to inflame it; though as there was at that ſame juncture a more than ordinary ill humour ariſing againſt him, it is probable he fell in the more readily with the popular diſpoſitions for a war, in order to divert the ſtorm, that threatened himſelf. But this point I have already explained more at large on a former occaſion*.

In his military capacity he frequently expoſed his own perſon with great gallantry; but he was remarkably cautious of hazarding the troops under his command; and he never entered upon action, without leaving as little room as poſſible for the fickleneſs of fortune, or the effects of a happy temerity. However, though the merit of his exploits as a general will not place him in the ſame rank with THEMISTOCLES or CIMON,

* Vide Letter 4 and 22.

he ſet up nine trophies, whilſt he commanded the armies of the ſtate, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in gaining a great naval victory over the Samians.

Illuſtrious MEGABYZUS, as thou haſt already equall'd this extraordinary miniſter in the extent and ſolidity of thy genius, and the importance of the ſervices, which thou haſt performed for thy prince and country, I can only wiſh, that thou mayeſt exceed him in length of days and increaſe of honour. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XLII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes.

HAVING familiariz'd myſelf much of late with the hieroglyphical imagery, in order to gain ſome knowledge of the ſacred characters, it has been my cuſtom to ſpend a few hours every day among the valuable monuments of learning in this place, from whence I now write to you, which is called the *ſacred Library*. It is an apartment belonging to that famous tomb of OSMANDUAS, which they boaſt of here (and I believe juſtly) for one of the moſt wonderful fabrics now ſtanding in the known world. This noble muſæum, the gallery adjoining, and the chamber of the gods and kings, far exceed in magnificence the palaces of living monarchs. Every ſtranger, upon his firſt coming into Ægypt, is ſtruck with wonder at the ſtatelineſs of their buildings; but more ſurprized, when he finds the moſt magnificent piles, no other than the repoſitories of a ſenſeleſs carcaſe or a dried mummy.

But

But this is the humour that prevails among them; for though the ſtructure of their private houſes is admirable in its kind, eſpecially if compared with the buildings in other countries, yet in their ſepulchres they far exceed, leaving nothing undone, that the moſt exquiſite art can contrive to beautify the latter. And though there appears ſomething ridiculous in this peculiarity, this fantaſtic pageantry in death, yet upon reflecting further we can't diſapprove of the principle, which may have given riſe to, or is at leaſt kept up among them by it, the ſetting a low value upon the ſhort time of this preſent life, and being only concerned for the reputation of their virtue after death. And I believe (though the worſhip of deified mortals was very early introduced) theſe magnificent ſepulchres have conſecrated the memory of many illuſtrious perſons, and in general were the firſt public temples. However, there is ſomething in this place extremely affecting to a contemplative mind; the lively figures of ſo many kings, heroes, and great men, as are here repreſented in company with the gods, in the ſame attitudes as if they were ſtill breathing, do, as it were, bring down all ages to the preſent inſtant, and ſtrike one's fancy in a pleaſing manner, rather to be felt than expreſs'd. And though I don't approve of their giving form to immortal beings, yet there is ſomewhat great and noble in the thought of ranking illuſtrious perſonages amidſt immortal natures. Around that room, in which it is ſuppoſed, that the king's body lies interred, are curiouſly pictured, in ſeveral leſſer apartments, all the ſacred animals of Ægypt.

* The whole building about the tomb is ten furlongs in circuit: at the firſt entrance, you are led through a portico of various coloured marbles two hundred foot in length, into a ſtone gallery of the ſquare of four hundred: it is ſupported with beaſts inſtead of pillars, each of one entire ſtone ſixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. The roof, which is entirely of one ſtone, has an azure ſky beſpangled with ſtars. Paſſing through this periſtylion you enter into another portico, which ſtill improves upon your admiration, with more curious carving and greater variety. At the entrance ſtand three ſtatues of one entire ſtone: the figures are wonderful, not only for their prodigious ſize, but for the beauty of the ſtone, and excellency of the workmanſhip, in which the proportions are ſo nicely preſerved, that the moſt diſcerning eye has never been able to diſcover the leaſt fault or blemiſh in them. The middle one in a ſitting poſture is the king OSMANDUAS, which is more than 7 cubits high; the other two, his daughter and mother ſtanding on each hand of him. The inſcription upon that of the king has, I think, juſtly challenged any other prince to excel him in any of his works. The ſecond gallery was much damaged by the ravages of CAMBYSES, yet there ſtill remain ſeveral pieces of ſculpture about it, which repreſent OSMANDUAS's wars with the Bactrians. In the firſt wall the king is ſeen aſſaulting a bulwark, environed with a river, which is generally taken for the Eulæus, that ſurrounds the citadel of Suſa. The ſculpture in

* Diodor. Sicul.

the

the royal palaces of Suſa and Perſepolis is much the ſame with what I find here. They were both beautified with the ſpoils of Ægypt. But the Ægyptian buildings at Suſa are ſuppoſed to be * as ancient as the age of MEMNON, who was the ſon of OSMANDUAS, if not the ſame perſon. In the center of this gallery is a periſtylion open to the air at top, and in it was raiſed a large altar of coſtly marble and excellent workmanſhip, but both the altar and the pillars of the periſtylion are much impair'd. Next is the gallery adjoining to this muſæum, in which is to be ſeen the king adorned in his moſt gorgeous robes, offering a tribute of gold and ſilver to the gods. And in the apartment beyond, where he is ſuppoſed to lie buried, begins a ſtately aſcent leading to the top of the whole monument, over which was formerly a border of gold of three hundred and ſixty five cubits in compaſs and a cubit thick, but it was carried away by CAMBYSES, and the place is ſince ſupplied by one of braſs of the ſame dimenſions. Within the diviſion of every cubit are the ſeveral days of the year engraven, with the natural riſings and ſettings of the ſtars, and the effects portended by them. † For the Theban prieſts have been very exact in regulating the courſe of the year, having found ſo great a variation occaſioned by the lunar reckonings. For twelve revolutions of the moon not being equal to the ſolar cycle, the months muſt of neceſſity by degrees change their place, and in a great number of years the feſtival, which was fixed to the

* Strabo, l. xv. † Ibid. l. xvii.

beginning of the ſummer ſolſtice, would be removed into the midſt of the winter. Obſerving this defect they ſaw a neceſſity of adding five days to the end of every twelve months, which they reckoned at thirty days each, to make up the courſe of the year; of which they gave an account under the diſguiſe of this fable. * MERCURY being once at dice with the moon, he got from her the 72d part of the year, which he afterwards added to the 360 days, which were anciently the days of the year, and therein celebrated the feſtivals of their gods. Thence the names of theſe ſeveral additional days were taken from the gods; the firſt was called OSIRIS, it being celebrated in honour of him; the ſecond ARUERIS, dedicated to the ſenior ORUS; the third to TYPHO; the fourth to ISIS; the fifth to NEPTHÆ, the wife of TYPHO and ſiſter to ISIS. The prieſts, who are curious to preſerve an exact regiſter of time among themſelves, though leſs concerned to rectify the inaccuracies of the vulgar, have by continual obſervations, ſince thoſe additional days were taken in, diſcovered, that there wanted ſtill ſix hours in every year to render it complete. For this reaſon in their hieroglyphical manner, when they would expreſs a year, they name a quadrant, becauſe from one riſing of SOTHIS the dog-ſtar to another, the fourth part of a day is added; ſo that by their moſt exact caculations the year conſiſts of 365 days and a † quadrant, or the 4th part of a day, which every fourth year makes the intercalation of a day neceſſary.

* Plutar. de Iſid. & Oſir. † Horapollo, Hierogl. l. 1. c. 5. Diodor. Sicul. l. 1.

But

But as the Ægyptians by a ſuperſtitious uſage, which the prieſts willingly indulge them in, muſt have their feſtivals run through every day in the year, the civil year is ſtill left according to the 365 cubital ſegments, without any reckoning of a ſupernumerary day in the fourth year. * The burying-places of the ancient kings, which lie above the Memnonium, and are cut by moſt exquiſite art in the natural rock, have not eſcaped my notice. The obeliſcs found in thoſe repoſitories declare their power and greatneſs, their numerous armies, and the tribute they impoſed upon conquered nations. Indeed there is nothing about Thebes of note, which I have not made the ſubject of obſervation. My quality in Perſia entitles me to a handſom reception every where in Ægypt; but the humanity of PHARNUCES the governor of Thebes is more than an ordinary friendſhip; it is by his means I have had the eaſieſt acceſs, wherever my curioſity led me. I have often wondered at his generous and diſintereſted regard for a ſtranger, and ſhall always think of it with gratitude: he courts my ſtay, and fails not to make it agreeable. I told him lately, I had through his favour gratified my curioſity ſufficiently, and ſhould ſhortly take a little ramble in the neighbourhood of Thebes, as far as Syene, before I ſet forwards for Heliopolis. Yes, ORSAMES, ſaid he with a ſmile, but you are miſtaken, if you think you have ſeen Thebes: upon which he gave orders to his ſervants, that a barge ſhould be ready, when I pleaſed, to carry

* Strabo, l. xvii.

me

me over the river to Tentyra, and that I ſhould be conducted to the top of * ISIS's temple. I knew PHARNUCES too well, to think any propoſal of his deſerved to be neglected: accordingly one morning, when the air was very clear, I paſſed over to Tentyra, a ſmall city, if compared to Thebes. It ſtands on a hill on the oppoſite ſhore. The temple of ISIS is its moſt conſiderable building, and well deſerves a particular deſcription, if the many works of this kind did not make that tedious. I ſhall only obſerve, that the whole front lies in the ſame line, except one large portico, which projects in the middle. On each ſide from the portico run three ranges of granate columns, which form a noble piazza, and ſupport the building. The columns are of an extraordinary height, and the circumference ſuch as ſeven men could ſcarce fathom, from whence I ſhall leave you to judge of the magnificence of the whole. As ſoon as I reached the top of the temple, I ſaw plainly, why my friend PHARNUCES had told me, I had not yet ſeen Thebes. Here I was raiſed by the advantage of the ground and the additional height of the temple; I ſaw the Nile under me interſperſed with ſmall iſlands, none of which were unoccupied near ſo wealthy a city. Some ſerved for ſtations to ſmall veſſels, and contained the hutts of

* The ruins of this temple are ſtill extant according to the relations of modern travellers, who ſay it was a temple of SERAPIS; but as the worſhip of that god was not introduced into Ægypt, till the reign of king PTOLEMY, many ages after this period of time, we muſt ſuppoſe it was originally dedicated to ISIS, and afterwards turned to the worſhip of SERAPIS. Note by the tranſlator.

fiſhermen; others planted with fruits and vegetables to ſupply the town; and ſome adorned with the houſes of wealthy citizens, and laid out into commodious gardens. The numberleſs veſſels, that paſſed by them continually, diſcovered ſomething very new and pleaſing, and ſet before me the whole traffic of Ægypt; all whoſe great cities lying on the banks of the Nile uſe this one channel for the conveyance of their merchandize, and as far as my eye could reach north and ſouth, the ſcene of buſineſs was continued. But I was ſent hither to take a view of Thebes, an object too large (as PHARNUCES thought) whilſt I was in the midſt of it, and therefore very judiciouſly ſet me at this diſtance. The air was clear, and a brisk wind diſperſed the ſmoke of the city, which lay ſtretched on the oppoſite bank, and riſing before me toward the eaſtern mountains. I had made myſelf acquainted with its different quarters, and knew its moſt conſiderable ſtructures; ſo was better fitted for ſuch a view, and could take it in without confuſion. The temples and palaces preſented themſelves to me like lofty cedars above the reſt of the foreſt; and I now could obſerve ſome proportions in thoſe great works, which before were loſt to me, becauſe I viewed them by parts; and what filled me chiefly with aſtoniſhment only, now ſhewed beauty, order, and exquiſite deſign. Thoſe vaſt ſtatues and prodigious groups of figures ſeemed fit ornaments in their place. I could from hence, by my extenſive proſpect, ſee the wiſdom of the founder of this city in the choice of its ſituation, in regard to its accommodations and ſecurity. Two or three days af-

ter

ter I went to PHARNUCES, to inform him of my intended journey: he ſaid, he wiſhed I could have found any thing to have detained me longer, and asked me, how I liked my proſpect from ISIS's temple? I anſwer'd, it was above all I had met with before; I had ſeen the handſom ſtreets of Thebes, noble palaces, curious obeliſcs, ſtatues, and temples, but never could have formed the idea that proſpect imprinted on my mind. He ſtept out of the room, and immediately brought the very proſpect I have been deſcribing painted upon linnen, and ſeveral draughts of the remarkable edifices of Syene (which I had not ſeen) telling me, theſe, he fancied, might vie with the maſter pieces of Greece; and as I ſhould have an opportunity of making the compariſon, deſired my acceptance of them; which I ſhall preſerve with the utmoſt care, not more on account of their value than my eſteem for PHARNUCES. For his ſake I ſhould leave Thebes with reluctance, did I not hope thereby to furniſh myſelf with materials for ſo agreeable a correſpondence as CLEANDER's. Farewell.

L. & H.

LETTER XLIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

IN my laſt letter, HYDASPES, I endeavoured to offer thee ſome reaſons for the fabulous uncertainty of the Grecian hiſtory in the earlieſt ages; and I concluded with applying one general remark to this particular nation, *viz.* that the introduction of civil government into

into the world, gave riſe to hiſtorical truth. I would obſerve in the next place, that it can hardly be ſaid till very lately, that any hiſtorian hath appeared amongſt them; *i. e.* any man, who deſerves the name of an hiſtorian, ſince moſt of thoſe writings, which are entitled hiſtories, may ſcarce be conſtrued to extend beyond a naked regiſter of public events.

What other character can be given of the works of ARCHILOCHUS, or THEAGENES of Rhegium? Will the Cretan hiſtory of XENON, or the Lydian kings of XANTHUS the Sardian plead admittance for them into the libraries of the learned? Can the Theogony of ARISTEAS lay claim to our eſteem, or DAMASTES of Sigeum be remember'd to poſterity from his treatiſe of nations and cities? Equally fabulous and dry, we can neither reflect on them after a ſerious peruſal with ſatisfaction, nor propoſe them as models for imitation. HECATÆUS the Mileſian and HELLANICUS of Mitylene have within theſe fifty years improved and reformed hiſtorical knowledge to a great degree; but even then it might be regarded only as in the dawn: the honour of carrying it to any kind of perfection was reſerved to HERODOTUS. For if we conſider the variety of his learning, and the copiouſneſs of his ſubject, the ſmoothneſs of his ſtile, and the perſpicuity of his narration, we ſhall find, that the fiction of the poets and the dull annals of laborious compilers will bear no proportion either in profit or in pleaſure, when compared with his hiſtory. He begins it with CANDAULES and CYRUS, and brings it down to the battle of Mycale towards the latter end of XERXES's

XERXES's reign, which comprehends the ſpace of 120 years. Beſides the ſtory of the Greeks and Perſians, which is the main argument of his work, he throws in that of other nations, by way of epiſode or digreſſion. This extraordinary perſon was born at Halicarnaſſus, a Grecian colony in the leſſer Aſia, not long before the invaſion of Greece by the armies of XERXES. In his youth, he retired from his native city to Samos, in order to avoid the arbitrary proceedings of LYGDAMIS, the grandſon of the famous ARTEMISIA, who acquitted herſelf with ſo much honour in the naval engagement at Salamis. 'Twas there he formed himſelf upon the dialect of IONIA, and compil'd his hiſtory. This was indeed a place more peculiarly fitted to his purpoſe; for as in every democratical government, ſo in that of Samos, a man is neither biaſſed by hopes nor by fears, and is at liberty to commend, without the leaſt imputation of flattery, and to cenſure, without that of malice or detraction. In the mean while he ſpared no pains to inform himſelf of all that was neceſſary, in the beſt manner which he could. To this end he travelled into Ægypt, ſurvey'd its chief towns, converſed with the prieſts of Thebes and Memphis, and penetrated into the principles of their religion and learning, as far as his own ſagacity could carry him, and their recluſeneſs would permit him. He travelled through the ſeveral cantons and republics of Greece, ſaw the principal cities of Aſia, and viſited the borders of Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia. Returning however after a long voluntary exile into his own country, he bore a conſiderable part in the ex-

pulſion of the tyrant; but meeting with envy from his fellow citizens, inſtead of that gratitude, which he expected as the juſt reward of his ſervices, he came to Athens; and after about a twelve month's ſtay here, departed into Italy with a colony of Athenians, to build a city called Thurium, near the ruins of the ancient Sybaris. As ſoon as he had drawn up his hiſtory from the materials he had collected with ſuch infinite diligence and induſtry, he determined to expoſe it to the judgment of all Greece. It happened, that during his reſidence at Athens, beſides the feaſt of Panathenæa, where he read over his work aloud, the Olympian exerciſes were then performing, to which the Grecians reſorted in general from each ſtate, and thus he had a very fair opportunity given him to put his deſign in execution. Many of his auditors had no doubt been perſonally enaged in ſome of the battles againſt XERXES and MARDONIUS, and not one of them could be unacquainted with the principal facts of a war, ſo honourable to Greece and ſo inglorious to Perſia. In the midſt of this aſſembly he declared, that he appeared before them, not ſo much a ſpectator of their games, as a competitor for the prize of reputation; and recited his work publickly a ſecond time with univerſal applauſe and approbation. Nothing can be a greater teſtimony of this applauſe, than that the names of the nine muſes have been given to the nine books of his hiſtory, as if the compoſition were above the ſtandard of humanity, and the joint labour of thoſe celebrated divinities.

If,

If, after a judgment ſo unanimous, and in every reſpect ſo valuable, I may be allowed to add my own, I muſt freely confeſs, HYDASPES, that I have received more inſtruction from the hiſtory of HERODOTUS, than from any author within the little ſphere of my obſervation. Every part of the narrative ſuggeſted matter of entertainment to the imagination, and uſeful improvement to the mind. I conſidered myſelf one while as under the protection and guidance of the moſt eminent heroes of antiquity, as having their bright example before my eyes, and in the future courſe of my actions attending to the noble principles, which influenced their conduct in life. I conſidered myſelf another while as a citizen of the world at large; as diveſted of every national prejudice or falſe biaſs, while the great men of paſt ages ſubmitted to my cenſure; and in my own breaſt I pronounced an impartial and diſintereſted ſentence on their characters. In each of theſe views, hiſtory may be called the ſchool, where the living, that would be wiſe, are the ſcholars; where the dead, as well the fools as the wiſe, are frequent leſſons of courage and experience to generals, of prudence and fidelity to miniſters, of moderation and juſtice to kings. Hence every perſon, in his private capacity, may learn to merit the diſtinguiſhing name of a man; and princes are warned, that they are no more than men, and that fame is always juſt to the dead, however partial to the living. In ſhort, nothing can be more agreeable, than by the means of hiſtory to accompany MILTIADES at Marathon, THEMISTOCLES at Salamis, or CIMON at Mycale.

To

To be placed as a ſpectator out of all hazards; to reap wiſdom from the danger of others; to regulate what one has to do by what has been done; to foretel the future by the paſt; and thus to become a diviner, without magic; and a prophet, without inſpiration. But I forbear to ſay any thing farther on this theme: thou muſt pardon me, HYDASPES, for having troubled thee ſo long; but it was impoſſible for me not to enlarge on the excellence and utility of hiſtory, when I was ſpeaking of the man, who hath firſt placed it in its true dignity and luſtre. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER XLIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

AS I had no particular commands to deliver to thee, I have neglected to write to Athens for ſome time; and to ſay the truth, my CLEANDER, thy diligence is ſuch, that it leaves us nothing to hope for on the ſide of information; and thy ſagacity is ſo great, that it anticipates the wiſeſt inſtructions of the miniſters. Think not, that I mean to flatter thee; for as thou knoweſt me to be framed of a temper above indulging that vice, even to the weakeſt of princes, it would ill become me, when I am ſpeaking to a man of ſenſe. The cruel proceedings of the Athenians againſt the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors have not deterred the Lacedæmonians from ſending another to this court in their ſtead. His name, it ſeems, is PYRACMON.

As ſoon as he arrived here, he addreſſed himſelf to thy friend HYDASPES, the chamberlain, telling him, he was a Spartan by nation, and demanded an audience of the king. HYDASPES acquainted him with the ceremony of proſtration, which it is abſolutely neceſſary that all ſhould comply with, who are willing to be admitted into the chamber of preſence. "For, ſays he, "we are ordered by the law, to adore our ſovereign, "as the living image of the Deity, which ſuſtains and "preſerves the univerſe." To which the other anſwered with the Laconic brevity and pride; "I will do no-"thing, that ſhall be thought a diſhonour to my coun-"try;" and therefore an audience was refuſed him. However, he has had ſeveral conferences with MEGABYZUS and myſelf; but his behaviour and his inſtructions are both ſo reſerved, that it is impoſſible for us to learn any particulars of moment from him. His only buſineſs, as far as I can collect it from all which he has ſaid, is, to put the king to a fruitleſs expence, without offering any ſuitable recompence; and to ask for ſupplies, without propoſing any mutual advantages to Perſia. This requeſt, thou mayſt eaſily conjecture, is regarded as wild and extravagant; beſides it is not conſiſtent with the political views of our court, and the reſolution of the Perſian council, to interfere in the civil broils and diſſentions of Greece, while the leading republics are deſtroying one another upon equal terms. It will be our part, whenever that time ſhall come, to throw ourſelves into the ſcale of the weakeſt; an argument, which has already been fully treated of in a former

former * letter, and upon that account will more properly be waved at the preſent.

I agree with thee, that the removal of PERICLES was an act of folly, and his ſudden reſtoration to the higheſt offices in the commonwealth was at once an inſtance of the wiſdom and inconſtancy of the Athenian people; but as I was not ſurprized at the one, ſo I could not wonder at the other. I was extremely pleaſed with the relation, which thou gaveſt me of thy viſit to that excellent ſtateſman, on thy return from Salamis; nor was I without hopes, that by the dexterity and politeneſs of thy converſation, thou mighteſt have procured ſome material intelligence from him. And yet how precarious is every proſpect of human happineſs! Soon after his reſtoration, we were told of the waſting diſeaſe, that preyed upon him; and lo! thy next brought the moving narrative of his death. Senſible as I was, that Greece had loſt her ableſt politician, and that the moſt powerful obſtacle to the deſigns of ARTAXERXES was removed, I could not help yielding for a moment to the ſoft impreſſions of tenderneſs and ſorrow. The unaffected encomium, which he beſtowed upon himſelf, before he died, gave me the ſtrongeſt idea I had ever entertained of his mild and equitable adminiſtration. PERICLES was above the genius of the city, that produced him; for he ſeemed born to monarchical ſway, notwithſtanding providence had placed him in a republican ſtate. Such however was his influence, that though in effect he ſettled the

* Vide letter 14 and 24.

moſt important points according to his own inclinations; yet his own inclinations were guided by the trueſt diſcretion, and conſiſtent with the moſt perfect freedom. Well might he then be reverenced as the father of his country, a name, which he expreſſed, not in any royal formality of titles, but in the real courſe of his government. Thus much, I think, thou mayeſt reaſonably expect from me, as a due tribute of praiſe to the character of a good miniſter in the ſervice of his country, and to the memory of a great man, though an enemy to Perſia.

The ſiege of Platea, according to the accounts I have received of the place, will laſt, in all probability, a conſiderable while longer. It is certainly a town of conſequence to the Athenians, and deſerves well of them, for its ſteady adherence to their intereſt in the preſent war, and of all Greece, for its inviolable attachment to the common cauſe. Fail not to ſend the earlieſt news of the motions of PHORMIO's fleet. In the mean time forget not to inform thyſelf of the intrigues in the city, and who is likely to ſucceed PERICLES in the popular eſteem and adminiſtration. But theſe things I forbear to enlarge upon, and therefore entruſt thee to the ſafe dictates of thy own obſervation and prudence. In ſhort, I have nothing to add further, than the ſincereſt expreſſions of the pleaſure, which I take in thy approved capacity for buſineſs, and the ſtrongeſt exhortation I can give thee, to perſevere in the ſame courſe of fidelity and obedience. Be aſſured, CLEANDER, this alone will recommend thee to the protection of OROMASDES, and the fa-

vour of our mighty maſter, for whoſe health I pray, before the morning walks over the dews of eaſtern hills, and after the ſun ſinks into the oceans of the weſt. Adieu.

From Babylon. C.

LETTER XLV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe, &c. From Athens.

THE military operations of this campaign prove a great deal more active, than thoſe of the two former; whether it is, that the animoſities of the contending ſtates, inſtead of decaying, grow more vigorous, by the continuance of the war; or that the hopes, which were formerly entertained of peace, being quite vaniſhed ſince the fruitleſs negotiations of laſt year, the various parties, that prevail in theſe republics, are agreed to give a different turn to their private reſentments, by exerting them only againſt the common enemy.

I intend this diſpatch ſhall contain an exact account of ſuch material events, as have happened ſince the death of PERICLES.

The Peloponneſian army is ſtill employed, or rather waſting itſelf, at the ſiege of Platæa, with no great profit to themſelves, or damage to their enemies. The laſt letters from thence ſay, that the beſieged have lately made a vigorous ſally, and undermined a mount, which the beſiegers had raiſed to plant their engines upon, and command the rampart of the place.

An account is arrived here of an unſucceſsful expedition, which the Ambraciots and Spartans have made againſt Acarnania. It was projected by the former, in conjunction with the Chaonians and ſome other Barbarians, who inhabit the frontiers of Greece towards Macedonia. They perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to ſend them a thouſand men, under the command of CNEMUS an officer of good reputation; whilſt the Corinthians and the other allies were preparing a large fleet with tranſports to join them, and complete the conqueſt of Acarnania. CNEMUS imagining he ſhould overrun the country upon the firſt inroad, ſet forward without ſtaying for this reinforcement, with his army drawn up in three columns. As he advanced towards Straton, the metropolis of Acarnania, the inhabitants made a briſk attack upon a column of Chaonians, who led the van, and were imprudently marched forward ſome leagues beyond the reſt of the army. Theſe barbarians made no great reſiſtance, and were intirely routed; which ſo diſcouraged CNEMUS, that he retreated with ſome precipitation, leſt he ſhould be intercepted by the ſuccours, that where aſſembling for the relief of Straton.

The ſatisfaction, which the Athenians expreſs at the failure of this enterprize, which however well conducted could have affected them but very remotely, is much heightened by the news they received yeſterday of a naval victory, which their fleet, commanded by PHORMIO, has gained over that of the Corinthians. The firſt notice they received of it was by ſeeing a trireme enter the harbour Piræeus with the uſual marks of ſucceſs.

ſucceſs. The officers and ſailors were ranked upon the deck crown'd with garlands, and filled the air with repeated acclamations. The ſhip herſelf was hung with wrecks of ſhattered veſſels of the enemy, and adorned with trophies of arms, whilſt the oars kept time to the harmony of muſical inſtruments. Great multitudes of people flocked inſtantly to enjoy this agreeable ſpectacle from the ſhore. The captain, whoſe name is DIOMEDON, landed and went directly to the Prytaneum (or town houſe, where the Prytanes have a plain repaſt prepared every day for them at the public charge) and delivered his letters into their hands. Theſe magiſtrates immediately aſſembled the ſenate; and after the letters had been read there, they were communicated to the impatient people in an extraordinary aſſembly that very evening. To morrow is appointed as a day of thankſgiving at all their temples for this ſucceſs. I have obtained a copy of the diſpatch ſent by PHORMIO, with an account of the action, which I have encloſed in this packet. It ſhews as well the experience and ſpirit of the admiral, as the honeſt plainneſs of a true Athenian; and therefore I imagined, noble ſcribe, that a ſight of it would not be diſagreeable to thyſelf and the reſt of the Perſian council. Adieu. P.

LETTER XLVI.

PHORMIO to the ſenate and people of Athens.

I Received the orders you ſent me to prevent the fleet of Corinth and the other confederates from join-

ing with CNEMUS and the Ambraciots; and hope you will not be diſſatisfied with the manner, in which I have executed them. Upon the firſt advice, that they were ſailed from the Criſſæan gulph, I weighed anchor from Naupactus with 20 gallies, in order to attend their motions, and came up with them juſt as they were got out of the Streights. As ſoon as we deſcried their fleet, which conſiſted of forty ſeven ſail under the command of three admirals, making the beſt of its way from Patræ to the oppoſite continent of Acarnania, I held a council of war with the other captains; in which it was determined, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of number lay on their ſide, to venture an engagement. We conſidered, that they were rather furniſhed for the land ſervice, than a naval action; and that the goodneſs of our ſhips and the experience and courage of our ſeamen would be an over balance to our being inferior in point of force. Accordingly on the twentieth of the month Thargelion in the morning, the ſails were ordered to be ſtruck, the rowers to lower themſelves under the deck, the ſoldiers to repair to their reſpective ſtations, and the ſquadron to fall into line of battle. The enemy, obſerving that they could not eſcape us without fighting, drew up their fleet in the form of a roundel, placing the larger veſſels on the outſide as a defence to the tranſports, which were diſpoſed in the midſt. Five of their ſwifteſt galleys were likewiſe ordered to be ready to ſally out upon us through the vacant ſpaces of the line, in whatever part we ſhould make an impreſſion. In this poſture we continued ſome time, till an eaſterly wind, which blows every

every morning out of the gulph, ariſing, I obſerved that their fleet was not only contracted by it into a narrower compaſs, but their order conſiderably diſturbed. I thought this favourable opportunity not to be omitted, and therefore ordered the ſignal of battle to be hung out, and the trumpets to ſound a charge from the admiral ſhip, which was immediately follow'd round the reſt of the ſquadron. The firſt encounter was pretty rough; a Corinthian ſhip commanded by MACHON, one of the admirals, endeavoured to break my oars; but I avoided the ſhock, and after giving her a volley of darts and ſtones, bore down upon her poop, and flung a bridge over her, and notwithſtanding a ſmart oppoſition, enter'd ſoldiers on board her, when ſhe ſurrender'd. In the mean time the reſt of the ſquadron broke into the enemies line, and diſperſed their whole fleet: DIOMEDON trierarch of the *Thetis*, and DEMOSTHENES trierarch of the *Nereids*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a peculiar manner. The former, though he was attacked by two of the enemies ſhips, who attempted to board him with grappling irons, repulſed them both, put the one to flight, and ſunk the other. The latter ſhatter'd ſeveral of the Corinthian ſhips, and always ſtretched a head after the flyers; leaving thoſe he had damaged, for others that followed him to take. In general, your officers and ſoldiers behaved themſelves with a gallantry and skill becoming Athenians. We have made ourſelves maſters of twelve ſhips and a great many priſoners, and after erecting a trophy and conſecrating a galley to NEPTUNE at Molycricum returned to Naupactus, from whence

whence I have diſpatched DIOMEDON with this account. I cannot conclude, without preſſing you in the moſt earneſt manner, to ſend me a large and ſpeedy reinforcement, or elſe the preſent ſucceſs can never turn to any future advantage. Your enemies, far from being diſcouraged, redouble their preparations. The remainder of the conquered fleet are rendezvouſed at Cyllene the arſenal of the Eleans, where they have been joined by CNEMUS and BRASIDAS, whom the Lacedæmonians have ſent with ſupplies of men and money. They give out, that they ſhall ſoon be able to put to ſea with ſeventy ſail.

Wherefore, Athenians, let not any delays proceeding from faction or intereſt retard the courſe of your buſineſs, and produce inconveniencies, which in former times have proved highly detrimental to you, and may be fatal now. Conſider how ungrateful it would be towards the gods, not to ſecond the proſperous beginning they have ſent you; how inexcuſable towards yourſelves, if you do not maintain the empire of the ſea, which your anceſtors tranſmitted down to you in full luſtre at the price of ſo much blood; and how unaccountable it muſt appear in the eyes of all Greece, if the victors are not as ſollicitous to improve their advantages, as the vanquiſhed to repair their loſſes. Farewell.

From on board the MINERVA quinquireme, in the harbour of Naupactus. P.

LET-

LETTER XLVII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Syene in Thebais.

THE reports I had heard of the wonderful cataract and other natural curioſities about this place, incited me to make an excurſion hither, before I ſet forward on my journey into the lower Ægypt. But here, I can aſſure you, my excurſion terminates, leſt you might ſuſpect, that I am going further into the barren wilds of Æthiopia, or the burning ſands of Libya. And I am not ſorry it has led me ſo far, as I can hereby impart to you ſome new diſcoveries relating to the Ægyptian worſhip, which I believe are yet unknown in Greece, not many of that country having extended their travels to theſe remote corners of Ægypt. Beſides that, they are of ſuch a nature, as the ſuperſtitious Greeks would not be much intereſted in making. For although thoſe, who travel, are generally men of better ſenſe, and underſtandings elevated above the vulgar, yet are they cautious of divulging any of their diſcoveries, which might help to undeceive the more ignorant. I had often heard at Thebes, * that the people further up in Thebais paid nothing towards the charge of thoſe animals uſed there and in the lower Ægypt in the ſervice of the inferior gods. I have wondered much, why they in particular were exempted, but never could be rightly informed of the

* Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

reaſon

reaſon of ſo peculiar an exemption, until I came to this place; ſo careful are the prieſts and devotees of that ſuperſtitious worſhip to conceal and diſguiſe every thing, that it is not their intereſt to publiſh. Upon coming hither, I was ſenſible of a great change from that pomp and pageantry, with which the religious of other parts in Ægypt have ſo extravagantly overloaded the worſhip of their gods. When I entered one of their temples, I was ſtruck with the awful ſolemnity of the place; and it raiſed in me a devout ſeriouſneſs, which all the ſculpture and ſenſible repreſentations of the gods had never before done in thoſe I had elſewhere ſeen. There was ſomething plain and ſimple in its ornaments, yet what taken together ſeemed great and auguſt, and extremely well adapted to excite a mechanical devotion; for I cannot call that otherwiſe, which is excited by any thing leſs than the pure contemplation of OROMASDES, when the mind abſtracts itſelf from all material objects, and ſeeks no other temple but its own breaſt. A few hieroglyphics and emblematical figures were raiſed in ſculpture from the walls; * and the Æthiopians, of whom the Syenites are a part, aſcribe to themſelves the invention of it. One figure preſents itſelf at the entrance, which is pretty remarkable, but ſeems placed there rather to characteriſe the powers and attributes, than intended for the ſhape and figure of the divinity they worſhip. † It was a ſerpent with an hawk's head; but the account I received from them of their religion was this, § "That they owned no mor-

* Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. † Philo. Bybl. Euſeb. l. 1. p. 47. c. edit. Par. § Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

"tal

" tal being to be god, but their god CNEPH; and " him they aſſerted to be without beginning and with- " out end, the maker and governor of the univerſe." The ſerpent ſeems to ſymbolize that ſpirit and vivific energy, which is by him diffuſed through all nature. And thus, ſay they, we are taught by EPEIS, our greateſt hierophant and ſcribe, " that the " firſt moſt divine being is as a ſerpent having an hawk's " head, beautiful to look on, who, if he opens his " eyes, fills the univerſe with light; if he winks, " darkneſs is made." However, in religion I cannot approve even of this emblematical imagery; for by uſing it in order to bring down myſterious truths to the level of common underſtandings, we are too apt to materialize in our thoughts the nature of the divine being. And I am afraid, it has but too often led the way to that ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition and worſhip of animals, which extravagantly prevails in moſt other parts of this country. Yet it gives me pleaſure to find, that amidſt all theſe corruptions the notion of one ſupreme deity is not totally and univerſally obliterated; and that the ſame good dæmon, whom we call OROMASDES, the great author of the world, is not only adored among us in Perſia, but his worſhip ſtill preſerved even amidſt all the monſtrous rites and ſuperſtitions of Ægypt. It may not be unworthy of your notice, what with much prying into their ancient learning I have in general collected, and which I am under no reſtrictions not to reveal to you, *viz.* that the firſt THOTH, or MERCURY, whoſe remains are preſerved on their pillars and in their ſacred

cred books, never ſo much as mentions the ſupreme Deity, who is above all things, or names him in the making of the world; * and only aſcribes divinity to certain mortal men and women, and thoſe ſuch as cannot be applauded from the ſtory of their exploits either for wiſdom or virtue, and ſome of them notorious for the worſt of vices. But the Hierophants ſay here, that a ſecond HERMES, at leaſt nine hundred years later than the firſt, ſaw reaſon and neceſſity to reform and diſſent from the falſe coſmogony, that had been introduced by him, who attempted to explain the generation of things by certain principles in a chaos, without any help from the firſt and eternal mover. And of this latter HERMES, who was called SIPHOAS †, the ſon of HEPHÆSTUS, and who reigned over all Ægypt, they preſerve here at Syene certain remains. But the Ægyptian prieſts in general deny, that this ſecond MERCURY diſſented from the firſt. They ſay, § he took great pains to collect thoſe invaluable treaſures of learning, which the firſt MERCURY left in different places inſcribed on pillars in the hieroglyphical characters, and which had lain neglected during the confuſion of the intermediate times; and after he had made a complete collection, ordered them to be laid up in a book in the ſacred reveſtries. Though theſe ſpeculations have much engroſſed my thoughts ſince my coming to Syene, I have not omitted ſeeing thoſe curioſities in the neighbourhood of this place, which

* Sanchon. fragment. apud Euſeb. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei. c. 7. † Syncell. 114. a. § Manetho. apud Euſeb.

brought me hither, though ſtraitned for time after ſo long a ſtay at Thebes. I ſailed in an open galley to Elephantine, an iſland in the Nile about one hundred and twenty ſtadia ſouth from Syene, a little above which is the famous cataract; and there ends the navigation of the Nile. The river having paſt Ethiopia, where it leaves many lakes and marſhes by the diſperſion of its waters, at laſt recollects its ſcatter'd ſtreams from Phile, a rocky iſland on its eaſtern ſide; * and rolls on from thence, till near to Elephantine it is oppoſed by a chain of rocks, that lie acroſs its channel. Daſhed againſt them and grown impetuous, it mounts in foaming waves, and after ſtruggling amidſt the broken cliffs and craggy precipices, pours down from an immenſe height with a ſtupendous roaring and noiſe. † But the incredible boldneſs of the people there is not leſs to be wondered at, who expoſe themſelves to the raging current in ſmall boats two together, the one ſteering, the other rowing; and paſſing the ſtreights of the rock by little channels, ruſh headlong with the ſtream to the amazement of the beholders: for after giving them for loſt, you preſently ſee them again, as if ſhot out of an engine far from the place of their fall, and rowing ſafely in the aſſwaged waters. In ſailing for pleaſure about Elephantine, we were much entertained with many rude proſpects of rocks and precipices, at the bottom of which are caves and grottos formed by the continual breaking of the waves upon them. Near Phile are §

* Seneca natur. quæſt. l. iv. ed. Lipſ. p. 747. B, C.
† Ibid. p. 748. § Herod. Euterp. c. 28.

two

two piked rocks, where the Ægyptian prieſts ſay are fountains of unfathomable profundity. They call them the veins of the Nile, and annually in their ſolemnities upon the increaſe of its waters, go thither to throw in their preſents as a tribute to the Nile. But when I arrive at Heliopolis, where I hope to be by the time that the ſolemnities upon that occaſion are celebrated, I ſhall have more leiſure, and be better prepared to entertain you with ſome phyſical accounts about it. In the area of an incloſure, belonging to the college of aſtronomers in this town, is raiſed a ſtone edifice with a ſpacious terraſs on the top; where are fixed in the open air the larger inſtruments, always ready at hand for their obſervations; and a great aperture in the middle looks down into * a very deep well, which being exactly under the Tropic circle, is a certain index for the ſummer ſolſtice. Though I am juſt ſetting out upon my progreſs into the lower Ægypt, I could not forbear communicating to you theſe obſervations upon things, which afforded me ſome new diſcoveries, and a greater entertainment than I expected. And as I ſhall ſcarce have leiſure to write to you again, till I do it from Heliopolis or Memphis, I was unwilling there ſhould be ſo long an interval in our correſpondence. Adieu.

L.

* Strabo. Plin. l. ii. c. 73.

LET-

LETTER XLVIII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS. From Athens.

THOU wilt be ſurpriz'd, venerable Magi, when I inform thee, that a city ſo renowned as this is, for its martial exploits, ſhould at the ſame time be no leſs famous for its learning and acquirements in ſcience. Its principal men think they are but half qualified for the ſervice of the ſtate, till they have gone through the whole circle of arts; and it is not uncommon for even thoſe of the firſt rank, to give themſelves up entirely to the culture of them. They make no ſcruple to undertake long voyages, in order to enrich themſelves and their country with freſh diſcoveries; and at home make it their chief buſineſs, and what mixes even in their entertainments, to promote knowledge. It is by theſe means, and by the encouragement, which is given to ingenuity in general, that the Athenians are confeſſedly ſuperior to all the other ſtates of Greece, in this reſpect at leaſt. There is no ſcience, which they do not profeſs (and what is much more to their credit) no art, in which they do not excel. The myſterious parts of learning and the knowledge of nature have been to them, though imperfectly, from Ægypt. The more practical arts, ſuch as ſculpture and painting, building and muſic, if not their own invention, yet owe all their grace to them; for whether they have improved only on the rough and uncouth plans brought from thence, or themſelves ſtruck out thoſe ideas of beauty and ſymmetry, their merit will be

equal. It is univerſally agreed, that they have finiſhed almoſt at the ſame time that they ſet about theſe arts, and in the compaſs of a very few years carried them to the utmoſt perfection they ſeem capable of. Thou wilt ask perhaps, whether it is on theſe attainments alone, that the Athenians build their reputation, and to what purpoſes, beſides thoſe of pomp and luxury, theſe refined arts ſerve? Thou, who haſt been trained up in the diſcipline of the old Perſians (whoſe chief excellence was to ſhoot, and ſpeak the truth) wilt be apt to deſpiſe all acquirements, which don't tend to make men wiſer or better. I agree with thee, that theſe are the true, and ſhould be the chief end of all inſtitutions; nor are the Athenians negligent of this. They make it their buſineſs alſo to improve the mind, correct the will, and infuſe ſentiments of virtue and honeſty into their youth. And I am the more perſuaded of this, when I conſider the turn and genius, the aim and actions of a young philoſopher, who begins to draw the eyes and attention of the city on him. He has taken a courſe in his ſearch after knowledge different from all others: while they have been hunting after it in diſtant climes, he has been confined to his own city and almoſt to his own mind; he has applied himſelf chiefly to know himſelf, and having tried as it were the ſhallowneſs of his own underſtanding, inſtead of pretending (as others do) to teach every thing, he profeſſes for himſelf, and undertakes to ſhew others that they underſtand nothing. In the midſt of the moſt plentiful feaſts, he practiſes a temperance almoſt equal to that, which the rules of thy order enjoin thee; and while he converſes

verſes daily in the moſt promiſcuous and free manner, he is ſaid to preſerve an innocence in his life, and a ſanctity in his manners, which retirement from the world ſcarce ſecures to others. Thou wilt not wonder, if my curioſity has led me to converſe with him; nor is it difficult to have acceſs to one, who ſpends moſt part of his time in the ſtreets and public places of this city. He received my addreſs in the ſame open and eaſy manner, he does thoſe of all his countrymen; and by a ſimplicity of behaviour, and a variety of queſtions, which ſeemed to have no relation to what I propoſed to him, he ſoon brought me to give up, what I had before looked on as clear and indubitable, and made me own, that I was ignorant in thoſe very points, which before I imagined I had beſt underſtood. When he had put me out of conceit with my own opinions, I was deſirous to be let into and ſubmit to his; but whether it was that he really (as he profeſſed) entertained no certain ones, or whether he did not think it ſafe to commit them to one, who, beſide his being a ſtranger, might not appear worthy of his confidence, he declined giving me this ſatisfaction, and left me neither pleaſed with him or myſelf. The mind, which takes pleaſure in its ſearches after truth, yet is impatient, when convinced, that all its darling ſyſtems and prepoſſeſſions are falſe; and I foreſee, that a ſage, whoſe life and doctrines are a conſtant reproach to all he converſes with, will ſoon make his diſciples deſirous of freeing themſelves from ſo impertinent a monitor. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XLIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. From Athens.

AS I find nothing more agreeable, ORSAMES, during my reſidence at Athens, than the converſation of intelligent men, I endeavour to inform myſelf on ſubjects of literature and ingenuity, without neglecting the weightier buſineſs of my ſtation and character. It is not long ſince I troubled HYDASPES with an account of ſome curious particulars concerning the Grecian poets and hiſtorians, which I had gathered from a careful peruſal of their works, and the accurate relations of the learned. The humanity of my patron PHILEMON is never ſo much exerted to my advantage, as when he introduces me with his uſual politeneſs to the familiarity of perſons, whoſe company I ſhould have made my choice, could I otherwiſe have hoped for it. To the kind recommendation of my friend it is wholly owing, that I am lately admitted to the acquaintance of THUCYDIDES, a man of ſuperior quality and wiſdom, by whoſe means I ſhall extend my inſight into the conſtitution of Greece in general, and the policy of Athens in particular. He was employed ſome years ago by the city in conducting a ſecond colony of Athenians to Thurium; and though he does not engage in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, he hath ſerved in the armies of the ſtate, and made ſeveral campaigns. I am told, he is originally poſſeſſed of a fair paternal inheritance, and is derived from a very noble

noble family, both which are augmented by his marriage with a rich wife, the daughter of a king of Thrace. He ſeems however to conſider theſe happy circumſtances in life with the impartial eyes of a philoſopher, and values the former only as it enables him to diffuſe the effects of his benevolence, and the latter, as the memory of it perpetually excites him to emulate his anceſtors in virtue. At the ſame time, he is ſo far from thinking himſelf raiſed above the reſt of his countrymen, that he lives with all the elegant ſimplicity of an Athenian, while he enjoys the opulence of a Perſian ſatrap. His inſtitution in the ſtudy of eloquence and philoſophy hath been conformable to the nobility of his birth and fortune. In philoſophy, he was the ſcholar of ANAXAGORAS; in rhetoric, he was inſtructed by ANTIPHON, an orator of ſingular abilities, and revered by the people for his eloquence. If I may form a judgment of his ſentiments in government from the tenour of his diſcourſe, he appears leaſt of all to approve of a democracy. The generoſity of his temper makes him averſe from the envy and contention of demagogues; the ſteadineſs of his politics, from the inconſtancy of popular reſolutions; and the integrity of his heart, from the ſelfiſh counſels of thoſe, who are willing to acquire or maintain an authority with the multitude. He could wiſh for a larger mixture of ariſtocracy in the Athenian commonwealth; and yet ſuch was his opinion of PERICLES, that as long as he continued alive and in ſupreme power, he uſed to ſay, "the adminiſtration was nominally democratical, but in fact monarchical." As

he is pleaſed to indulge me in ſome ſhare of his confidence, I took the liberty to ask him one day in private, " How it happened, that he, who joins to " great natural endowments a ſurprizing compaſs of " knowledge and long obſervation, had never expreſs'd " any deſire to be placed at the helm of the republic, " nor had entered into the artful management of po- " pular aſſemblies." He anſwer'd me, " That he " forbore coming into the aſſembly, becauſe he would " neither be an acceſſory or a witneſs to their iniquitous " proceedings: That proſperity had infatuated the minds " of his unthinking countrymen; and the only men " who ruled them, were thoſe, who ſoothed them with " fond hopes, enflamed them by falſe notions, and put " them on chimerical ſchemes, and hazardous attempts; " whereas he, who gave temperate advice, was injuri- " ouſly branded as a coward, and thought ſo ignorant, " as not to underſtand, or ſo malicious as to belie their " power." He ſaid, " the trueſt and moſt ſhining " merits were looked upon as crimes againſt the ſtate; " that they never pardoned him, who ſerved them " with talents, which rendered him worthy to com- " mand, and often deprived themſelves of real ad- " vantages to ſhun an imaginary evil. For my own " part (continued he) I have mingled ſo much of the " diſintereſted philoſopher with my republican prin- " ciples, as to abhor thoſe leaders of party, who croſs " each other's counſels to the detriment of the whole; " thoſe flatterers, who truckle to the humour of the " people by the meaneſt and moſt ſlaviſh compliances; " thoſe declaimers, who drive us into ſtrange under-

" takings,

" takings, which their betters either dare not oppoſe,
" or, if they do, precipitately endanger their own ſafe-
" ty. A prudent citizen therefore, when perſons of
" this kind bear ſway, will yield to the torrent of the
" times, without ſuffering himſelf to be loſt in the
" ſtream. He will wait for a fairer opportunity of en-
" gaging in the public buſineſs, or elſe not engage in
" it at all. He will not enter on the important office
" of a miniſter, uncalled to it by the general voice of
" his country. In a word, I have laid down theſe
" maxims to myſelf, which the politicians of our days
" ſeem utterly to deſpiſe, *viz*, that a good man ſhould
" be ſo zealous in his regards for the community, as to
" exclude all thoſe that are perſonal, while a wiſe man
" remains indifferent in his choice of public or private
" life, but ſtudious to adorn both. Can you then won-
" der (added he) if I have rather employed myſelf in
" obſerving and recording what paſſes, than in direct-
" ing and governing? And to ſpeak ſincerely, it is with
" a view to the good of futurity, that I am now com-
" piling a hiſtory of theſe times, and ſhall ſpare no ex-
" pence of labour or money to procure fitting me-
" moirs for the purpoſe. The Lacedæmonian ar-
" chives as well as the Athenian will be ranſacked,
" that from the collections of each the ſeries of our
" tranſactions may be more impartially laid open; and
" however ſome men ſhall cenſure the manner of my
" writing, yet no man ſhall queſtion the truth of it.
" For it is not a work intended by way of oſtentation
" to the preſent age, but as a monument of inſtruc-
" tion to our ſucceſſors, as a legacy to all poſterity."

Struck with the greatneſs of the reply, it was impoſſible for me to forget, what I had often been told, of the generous ſpirit he diſcovered, and the memorable tears which he ſhed, on hearing the Muſes of HERODOTUS recited in a celebrated feaſt at Athens. I conſidered this deſign as a conſequence of the ſame emulation; nor could I avoid on the one hand congratulating the generations to come on that admirable hiſtory, which the abilities of my friend THUCYDIDES will hereafter produce into the world; nor was it unnatural to reflect with an honeſt indignation on the other, that while Greece is making large ſtrides in policy and advancing in letters, Perſia too inglorioufly neglects the cultivation of both. The former, not content with her victories at Marathon and Salamis, is endeavouring to defeat us in that, which alone can immortalize the name of either: the latter, ſo far from being animated by a ſenſe of her ſhame, to retrieve the advantages ſhe has loſt, is diſregarding the judgment of futurity, and adding to the conqueſt by indolence. But let us hope that this, oh ORSAMES, may not long be our caſe! Let us publiſh an account of our actions to mankind, and not truſt to the partial repreſentation of the Greeks. Let us plead our own cauſe before the equitable tribunal of poſterity; and though the progreſs of our arms hath been checked, yet let not the palm in hiſtory be taken from us. Adieu.

C.

LET-

LETTER L.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS chief ſcribe, *&c.* From Athens.

THE Athenians, noble ſcribe, are remarkable amongſt their other diſtinguiſhing qualities for the great eagerneſs, with which they liſten after news. Thou mayſt imagine, that this curioſity finds ſufficient employment by an account juſt arrived of a ſecond engagement between the Peloponneſian fleet and PHORMIO's ſquadron, in which the vaſt ſuperiority of number on the ſide of the former, balanced by the skill and bravery of the latter, has rendered the advantage and loſs pretty equal between both parties, as thou wilt be better able to judge from the following relation.

A reinforcement of twenty ſail were immediately fitted out here, at the preſſing inſtances of PHORMIO; but inſtead of being ſent directly to him, were ordered to take Crete in their way, on a ſervice of no importance. They were detained ſo long at that iſland by contrary winds, that they were not able to join him till the battle was over.

In the mean time, BRASIDAS and CNEMUS put to ſea with a fleet of ſeventy ſail well appointed, and came to an anchor at Rhium of Achaia, whilſt PHORMIO and his twenty galleys were ſtationed at a port of the ſame name on the oppoſite ſhore. Theſe two harbours form the mouth of the Criſſæan gulph. The Peloponneſian commanders intended to bring the Athenians

Athenians to an engagement within the gulph, before the reinforcement arrived. PHORMIO deſigned to avoid fighting, but, if that was not in his power, to engage them in the open ſea, where the dexterity of his ſailors and the ſwiftneſs of his ſhips, would give him the advantage againſt their unweildy veſſels and unexperienced ſeamen. After they had lain two or three days in this poſture, the Peloponneſians made a motion up the gulph with their whole fleet towards Naupactus; which obliged PHORMIO much againſt his will to follow them in order to ſave the place, which was too weak to make a ſtout reſiſtance. As ſoon as the admirals of the enemy ſaw the Athenian ſquadron engaged within the ſtrait, they gave the ſignal to their fleet to tack about, and bear down upon them, which they did with ſuch vigour, that they drove ſeveral of the Athenian galleys againſt the ſhore, ſunk ſome, and made many priſoners. A body of Meſſenian troops in the ſervice of Athens, who were marching along the ſhore, behaved very bravely; for they entered the ſea with their arms, and recovered ſome of the ſhips, that had been taken. In another part of the action, PHORMIO himſelf puſhed out to ſea with eleven ſhips, and was purſued by twenty Peloponneſian ones into the harbour of Naupactus. This experienced officer obſerving that they followed the chace very careleſsly, and either out of contempt of the Athenians, or believing the victory already their own, neglected to keep their line of battle, ſo that ſome of their ſhips were out of ſight, ordered the few galleys he had with him to turn their prows, and bear down directly

on

on the enemy, himſelf leading the attack. This advantage was ſo well improved, that after ſome of the foremoſt Peloponneſian veſſels were diſabled, the reſt frighted at ſo unexpected a turn were put to flight, and ſix of them taken. PHORMIO and BRASIDAS have both erected trophies, though neither of them can juſtly lay claim to the victory. The ſhips from Crete are ſince arrived, and it is ſaid the Peloponneſian fleet is retired to Corinth. The officers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt on the ſide of Athens, were ASOPIUS, the admiral's ſon and NICIAS.

It is much cenſured as an error in CLEON and his party, the preſent managers of affairs, that they did not immediately furniſh PHORMIO with a force ſufficient to improve his firſt advantage, and remain maſter of the ſea. In all probability, if the twenty ſhips had not waſted ſo much of their time at Crete, this muſt have proved a very conſiderable ſucceſs for the Athenians. It has been a common ſaying amongſt them on this occaſion, that they are now thoroughly ſenſible, that PERICLES is dead. The laſt letters from Platæa mention, that the army of the allies under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, being haraſſed out with the length of the ſiege and the vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon, have reſolved to encloſe the city with a ſtrong wall, fortified with ditches and towers on both ſides, to prevent as well the ſallies of the inhabitants within, as the entrance of any ſuccours from without; and that after having finiſhed this regular fortification, part of their forces will be left for the blockade of the town, and the reſt diſmiſſed.

I have

I have now laid before thee, noble ſatrap, the preſent courſe of public occurrences; nor do I neglect to inform myſelf, as thou enjoineſt me, of the private intrigues of this city, and the ſecret ſprings, that influence the counſels of this active republic. The adminiſtration of affairs, ſince the death of PERICLES, has lain principally in the hands of a party, who may be ſaid to delight in war; and though they have not the neceſſary talents for carrying on a regular and well concerted ſcheme of military operations, yet they treat any one, who but ventures to name the word peace in their aſſemblies, as an enemy to his country, and a friend to Lacedæmon. They are a ſet of men compoſed of mercenary orators, and other factious citizens, who are enriched and aggrandized by a war, that impoveriſhes the reſt of the ſtate. Every general is obliged to pay his court to them, and to have a band of rhetoricians to defend him againſt the attacks of his enemies at home, whilſt he is fighting his country's battles in the field. The allies make their applications to them, to recommend their cauſes to the people, to get their contributions leſſened, or an expedition undertaken in their behalf; though the immediate ſervice of the ſtate perhaps is neglected, and her armies rendered uſeleſs for want of ſupplies. CLEON is at the head of theſe worthy patriots; a man the more oppoſite to peace, becauſe in quiet times his own bad actions would appear, and the calumnies of others be leſs believed. He ſupports himſelf, not ſo much by the greatneſs of his abilities, as the boldneſs of his undertakings, and the confidence of his aſſertions. He ren-

ders

ders himſelf popular, not by the eaſe and humanity of his behaviour, but the freedom and roughneſs of it; which is agreeable to the common ſort, whom he likewiſe gains over to his intereſt by frequently relieving their neceſſities. He carries his point in the aſſemblies, by an over-bearing vehement ſort of eloquence accompanied with much action. There are however ſeveral, who diſlike his character and meaſures, and oppoſe both with great freedom: the comic writers in particular do not ſpare him, but ſet him forth in the ſtrongeſt colours, that the copiouſneſs of their invention and the ſeverity of their ſatyr will afford. Of late they have been employed in falling foul upon the memory of PERICLES, and repeating the plentiful collection of ſcandal, which the very mention of his name gives them room to diſplay.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging thy laſt letter: the gracious acceptance, which my ſervices meet with, is far ſuperior to their merits as well as my expectations. Permit me to indulge a little pardonable vanity in reflecting, that I enjoy the honour of being ranked amongſt thy friends, and the meaneſt of the ſervants of ARTAXERXES. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LI.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER. From Babylon.

THough the riſe and preſervation, CLEANDER, of every great monarchy has been owing to the arts of war, yet at the ſame time 'tis certain, no ſtate could ſupport itſelf without the neceſſary improvements

ments of peace. The wiſdom therefore of our conſtitution is in nothing more conſpicuous, than the admirable care that is taken to make the * culture of both mutually ſerve and promote each other. Without this, the numberleſs forces of Perſia would overrun and depopulate the whole empire. But by a moſt exact and regular diſpoſition in every diſtrict of the provinces, the garriſons and ſtanding forces are maintained with very little burden to the country. The præfect of each diſtrict has a liſt of ſo many horſe, ſhield-men, or archers, which he is to find proviſion for, according to the fertility and produce of the lands within his diviſion. ARTAXERXES himſelf has every thing under his own inſpection; he frequently reviews the troops in one part or other of his dominions, and ſurveys the country at the ſame time, or employs thoſe he can confide in, to do it in places more remote. By this means he knows the ſtate of his armies, the ſtrength of his garriſons, and the condition of the ſeveral provinces. If the præfects fraudulently withhold what nature hath plentifully beſtowed, or if the land be not ſufficiently cultivated as far as the ſoil will bear, they are liable to be complained againſt by the officers of the army, or thoſe ſent to inſpect them, or to be diſcovered in the neglect of their duty by the king himſelf. Where naked and barren proſpects are by labour and induſtry converted into beautiful lawns and plantations, or the face of nature in any ſort improved, the præfect of that diſtrict is ſure to receive ſome mark of

* Xenoph. memorabil. Lib. V. edit. Francof. p. 827. E. & p. 828.

the

the royal munificence, and the meaneſt labourer to enjoy the fruits of his induſtry. And wherever the troops are fitly choſen, well diſciplined, and handſomly equipped in their arms and other accoutrements, not only the commanding ſatrap, but every chiliarch and tribune is diſtinguiſhed, as he hath ſhewn his diligence in the faithful diſcharge of his truſt. By this means they are always found prepared, either for a military expedition, to form an encampment, or paſs in review before their ſovereign. This ſummer a large body of forces, draughted out from ſeveral provinces, is encamp'd in the plains of Babylon. The natural Perſians are 20000, who are honoured with * XERXES for their chief, diſtinguiſhed from the Medes by their light targets and the faſhion of their ſleeves with ſtripes of various colours. The Median forces, a ſelect body, amount to twenty more. Thirty thouſand Aſſyrians with brazen helmets and linen corſlets are commanded by ARSITES. The Arii and Bactrians make ten thouſand, armed alike, † except that the former have Median bows; their general is § BAGAPÆUS, the emperor's ſon by ANDIA a Babyloniſh lady, and uterine brother to PARISATIS, a gallant young prince, who hath been trained to arms under ARASPES, the brave ſatrap of Bactria. The Ciſſij with the Sagartians and borderers upon the Erythræan ſea conſtitute twenty thouſand. The Sagartians and thoſe people in the tributary diviſions are reckoned to the province of Perſia, ‖ the proper Perſians being, as you know, exempted

* He was the prince royal of Perſia. † Herod. Polymn. c. 65. § Excerpt. ex Cteſiæ Perſic. c. 48. ‖ Herod. Thal. c. 97.

from

from all tribute. The Sargatians wear a brigantine of leathern thongs cloſely entwined together, and carry nets, which they make uſe of in an engagement with great dexterity. The reſt are armed much after the Perſian manner in ſcaly corſlets, and with the ſame defenſive weapons; but the habits of their chiefs are enriched with topazes from the oriental iſles adjoining. Among them are a body of the Chelænophagi, whoſe mails are curiouſly formed of the ſhells of tortoiſes. SOGDIANUS has the command of five thouſand Caſpians and Paricanians, who make a barbarous appearance in the hides of ſhaggy goats, and are armed with bows and daggers. ARTASYRAS, who by OCHUS's intereſt was lately appointed ſatrap of the greater Armenia, is preſent with ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe from the territories lying at the head of the Euphrates, and between the Araxes and the Cyrus. A ſplendid tent was ſet up for OCHUS, and he is expected here with a large detachment of the Hyrcanians; but he ſtopped ſhort with twenty brigades in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, to prevent, as is ſuppoſed, a ſecond riſing of the Caduſians, which may be more ſuſpected, as the choiceſt part of the Median forces were draughted for this encampment. Ten thouſand Syrians are quartered round MEGABYZUS's pavilion, armed with ſhort ſpears, javelins, and daggers, and greaves that cover only half the leg*. Five thouſand Arabians habited in their looſe mantles of Indian ſilk, with long bows, † are placed in the rear of the camp,

* Herod. Polym. c. 85. † Id. c. 87.

that

that their camels may not annoy their horſes. Amidſt theſe various multitudes, the greateſt regularity and order is preſerved through all the ranks. The city of Babylon, which delights in ſhews and pomp, was much entertained with the grand parade, when ARTAXERXES went to meet his camp. The magi led the proceſſion in their ſcarlet robes, carrying the holy fire upon a ſilver hearth. After them came the empty chariot crowned with garlands and drawn by white ſteeds with harneſſes of gold, which is ſacred to OROMASDES, and an emblem of his preſence with us. A ſingle horſe came next of the largeſt breed of Hyrcania in honour to the ſun, and the leaders had white garments with ſtaffs of gold. Then a thouſand of the band of Immortals, with their golden chains and veſts of rich brocades ſet off with Indian gems, followed by the order called the Royal Kindred; after them the body guard, who are diſtinguiſhed by the golden apples upon their Pikes. The chief ſatraps and princes of the blood attended about the perſon of ARTAXERXES, who rode in an ivory chariot, richly inlaid with amethiſts and rubies upon ſilver and gold plates curiouſly imboſſed with emblematic figures. * From behind, a ſculptured eagle, more dazling than the car itſelf, ſpread its wings over the monarch's head. A thouſand ſpearmen cloſed the proceſſion. The tent of ARTAXERXES ſtands conſpicuous on a riſing ground near the center of the camp, with the image of the ſun in a caſe of cryſtal over it. The ladies of the court complain of their being left out in this proceſſion,

* Quint. Curt.

who have in every ſignal expedition attended the camp. They threaten to appear ſoon in Amazonian dreſſes, and try the courage of ſome in diſtinction there, ſince moſt of the younger ſatraps, who were noted for their effeminate delicacy, have upon this occaſion aſſumed a martial air. Theſe jeſts have reviv'd the memory of the ancient Sacian women, who in the reign of their queen ZARINA, about the time of ARTIBARNAS, father to ASTYAGES, joined in a revolt of the Parthi, and extremely diſtreſſed the Medes. And ſome fine interludes, intermixed after our manner with ſinging and dances, have been play'd in the royal apartments founded upon the ſtory of that heroine, and the * adventure of the Mede STRYAGLIUS with the Sacian lady, whom he had thrown from her horſe, and conceived ſuch a violent paſſion for, that meeting with a repulſe in his firſt addreſſes, he pretended to ſtarve himſelf, and by that artifice worked upon the compaſſion of his miſtreſs. A party of the court ladies, with the queen mother and AMYTIS, were lately at an entertainment in MEGABYZUS's tent, and paſſed through the camp in a cedar carriage with the curtains of their pavilion undrawn, attended by INTAPHERNES and five hundred of the Immortals. MEGABYZUS performs all the duties of a general, and excites an emulation among the troops in their military exerciſes, by his frequent preſence among them. But to the great concern of all his friends, though the vigour of his mind be ſtill the ſame, yet in his bodily ſtrength he ſeems daily declining.

* Ex Cteſ. Perſ. fragment. ap. Demetr. Phaler. in libro, qui περὶ ἑρμηνείας vocatur.

APOL-

APOLLONIDES of Cos, who is in great favour with ARTAXERXES, exerts his utmoſt skill to prolong a life ſo valuable to Perſia. Adieu. L.

LETTER LII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

I Have of late been engaged in ſome converſations with the ſages of this place, which have more than once brought to my mind thoſe delightful ſolitudes, where thou, abſtracted from all other care and avocations, enjoyeſt as it were the preſence of the great OROMASDES, and illuminations, which, though no leſs important than thoſe vouchſafed to the favoured ZORASTER, thou in divine conference haſt communicated to me. Not many furlongs from the city, in the midſt of a ſpacious meadow, which is almoſt ſurrounded with the clear and ſmooth ſtream of the river Iliſſus, there is a ſtadium not ſo remarkable for its ornaments and grandeur, as its antiquity and ſituation; it was built in the early ages of this republic, and ſtill retains its primitive rudeneſs and ſimplicity. A grove of trees coeval at leaſt to the ſtructure, whoſe trunks appear like huge pillars to ſupport a thick and verdurous roof, are planted on one ſide; and through them the cool breezes, which ariſe from the river, and are perfumed by numberleſs flowers that adorn its banks, give a freſhneſs amidſt the ſcorching heats, which we now feel, and form a retreat the moſt agreeable that can be imagined. It is for this, that the philoſophers of Athens with their diſciples frequently exchange

the Academy and Lycæum; and as I have more than once been admitted to the conferences, that are held here, thou wilt not, I fancy, be diſpleaſed to partake in them alſo. It is true, I have ſometimes been but indifferently entertained. Some of the firſt and higheſt reputation among theſe philoſophers have little true and ſolid knowledge even of thoſe ſciences they profeſs. Many, who ſet up for maſters of natural truths, are either greatly ignorant of, or entirely miſtake the firſt principles, on which they are built. Others there are, who are called teachers of eloquence, but are not able to give any proof of their being ſo; others, who diſpenſe out leſſons of wiſdom, not from any ſtock of their own, but founded on the authority and maxims of their anceſtors. But what above all moves my indignation is, that without any experience of the world, any inſight into policy, they all take on them to inſtruct their ſcholars in the arts of government, the conduct of publick affairs, and the enacting of fit and neceſſary laws. It is true, that theſe pretenders to ſcience but too frequently meet here one, who, as he is much ſuperior to them in all parts of learning, ſeems animated with a particular zeal to deſtroy their ill-grounded pretences to it. It is not unuſual to ſee them put to a precipitate and ſhameful retreat by this great champion of truth; and indeed it is impoſſible to conceive the deep wiſdom and true reaſoning, that are concealed under the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the rude * mechanick. As he has a peculiar art of illuſtrating what he treats on, ſo he has alſo of expoſing what

* SOCRATES was bred up a ſculptor.

may

may be on inſufficient grounds admired by others. By abundance of apt compariſons, and a moſt extenſive induction of known and familiar topics, he at once opens and convinces the minds of his hearers. Nor need I after this deſcription tell thee, that I ſpeak of SOCRATES, in whom if there is any thing that I blame, it is his too great reſerve, and his rather labouring to make thoſe he converſes with unlearn what is wrong, than to inſtruct them in what is right. In one of our converſations one day, after he had put to flight a whole army of the ſophiſts, and only one or two friends were left, I was led to expreſs my ſurprize and concern, that he, who was ſo capable, and ſeemed ſo ready to teach men true knowledge, ſhould yet be ſo backward in this godlike employment. I even ſaid, "that "it ſeemed ungenerous and inconſiſtent with his uſual "benevolence, to be ſo ſevere, as I had ſometimes "known him, on thoſe, whoſe greateſt fault was per-"haps only to be too ready to teach, while he, who "was capable of doing it, would not enter upon this "province." He received my reproof with his uſual humanity, and after ſome pauſe, ſaid; "Was I really, "my friend, what you would kindly ſuppoſe me, ca-"pable of inſtructing mankind, yet ſure I am, that "you and all wiſe men would judge the worſe of me, "if I ſhould venture to proclaim it. It has hitherto "been the chief buſineſs of my life to confute and "ſhew the folly of theſe vain ſciolifts: and ſhould I "not expoſe myſelf to the contempt of thoſe, who are "ſo contemptible, if I ſhould engage in their task, and "take on me to dictate on points, which I am ſenſible

" are not only out of my reach, but even beyond that " of human capacity? It is true, that I have endea- " voured, as far as I am able, to cultivate and improve " my faculties. I own I have uſed my utmoſt induſtry " in acquiring knowledge; and as truth and ſcience " have hitherto been, ſo I am perſuaded they ever will " be, the ſcope and object of my life to come. But " alas! ſo far am I from having arrived at what I " aim at, that I am daily convinced I never ſhall. I " am ſatisfied, that I know nothing perfectly; the ex- " perience of each day convinces me of the folly of " the concluſions I made the foregoing; and upon the " matureſt conſideration I am brought to conclude, " that the probable is all we can ever arrive at in our " reſearches. What can I do better therefore, or how " can I be more uſefully employed, than in endeavour- " ing to take men off from thoſe idle and fruitleſs pur- " ſuits after certainty, which I am convinced they never " will find? Nor does this hinder me from tracing out, " and even depending upon ſome great and fundamental " points. And if thou wouldſt know what it is that ap- " pears to me the moſt probable, I anſwer, ſeeſt thou the " great frame of the univerſe, and haſt thou conſider'd " the various and wonderful inſtances of wiſdom and " contrivance, that are diſplay'd in every part of it; and " canſt thou doubt of its being the work of ſome all- " wiſe and all-powerful cauſe? Can ſo much uſe and " beauty, ſo much magnificence and deſign, ſo much re- " gularity and order ſtrike us on the contemplation of " nature, and we not own the author of nature? Can ſo " many beings exiſt, and there be no cauſe of their ex-

" iſtence?

" iſtence? No, it is impoſſible not to trace and acknow-
" ledge plain and evident marks of a deity, who formed
" and directs this wondrous machine. It muſt be that we
" are all under his government, that we are produced for
" ſome great purpoſes; and when we diſcover, that not
" the moſt minute and inſignificant atom, which we
" ſee, but has its uſes, and ſerves its peculiar ends, we
" muſt conclude that man, the nobleſt work of the
" creation, muſt alſo have his. Hence then am I led
" to enquire and conſider, what are and what ought
" to be the great duties of my life. I try the extent
" of my own and others capacity. I endeavour to
" fathom their underſtandings. I examine into the
" end of our actions, how they may affect ourſelves or
" others. I find a light as it were and guide placed in
" my breaſt, which, if diligently attended to, directs
" me in all important occurrences. I am ſatisfied, that
" man is not born for himſelf only, but for the ſervice
" of others, and that there is a law, which directs all
" to the practice of what is juſt, and good, and true,
" planted in every man's breaſt; that human laws
" only inforce this and bind it upon bad men; that
" the good are not influenced by them, and he that
" attends has no need of any other obligation than
" what ariſes from hence. Nay further, when I con-
" ſider the nature and formation of man, and that all
" we learn ſeems to be little more than recollecting
" what we have been apprized of, I conclude, that we
" have exiſted in ſome other ſtate. And if we have
" lived before, ſtill it is more likely (conſidering the
" paſſionate deſire we have after knowledge, and how

" impoſſible it is to ſatisfy it in this ſtate) that we are " deſigned for, and ſhall exiſt in another. But I re- " frain from indulging in this, which to thee may ſeem " appear a viſionary and idle ſpeculation, however pro- " bable and rational it may ſeem to me." Here he ended, and I would gladly have engaged him in a more particular diſcuſſion of what he had advanced. He on the contrary deſired my ſentiments, which not only out of modeſty, but prudence, thou wilt imagine I declined giving, and ſo our converſation broke up. I went away convinced, that the notices of the great OROMASDES are wonderfully diſplayed throughout the whole univerſe, and that the ſublimeſt truths are eaſily diſcoverable, when men make a proper uſe of that moſt valuable emanation from him, *Reaſon*. R.

LETTER LIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Heliopolis.

THE Nile is now riſen to its greateſt height, and the country in every part fills the eye of a traveller with wonder and delight, and affords the moſt joyful proſpect to the inhabitants of Ægypt. From a pyramid in this town I ſurveyed the diſtant ſurface, where lawns, and fields, and gardens lay undiſtinguiſh'd in one fluid plain; the taller foreſts waving in the midſt of waters, and the ſtately piles of Memphis and the neighbouring towns, with the adjacent pyramids ſcatter'd like rocks and iſlands, to diverſify the charming ſcene. You ſee in every place life and motion, the inhabitants paſſing continually hither for buſineſs or pleaſure,

pleaſure, in boats or barges upon the water, or over the banks and cauſeways from town to town. The further mountains of Libya riſe like a diſtant continent ſeen off at ſea; the nearer ones, that are continued along the banks of the Nile from the upper Thebais, begin here to open and ſpread away to the Eaſt, and preſent the moſt raviſhing landskip of hills and precipices, intermixed with lawns and woods, where the cattle graze during the inundation. My happening to come down from Syene, about the time that the banks were to be laid open, contributed much, with the natural chearfulneſs of the country, to render my tour agreeable. Upon this occaſion, there are certain ceremonies obſerved with great ſolemnity and rejoicing: and the præfects of the greater diſtricts, uſually viſit all the chief towns, through the ſeveral nomes they preſide over, at the cutting of the banks, and are preſent at the ſolemn feſtivals held upon that occaſion; which they eaſily may, a regular cuſtom being obſerved of beginning from the veins of the Nile, and ſo proceeding gradually down the country, as the inundation directs them. Above Thebes ſeldom any but the prieſts themſelves attend. Of this cuſtom PHARNUCES took no notice, when I parted from him to ſee the cataracts, and thought to have paſſed unobſerved the whole way back to Heliopolis; but about the midway to Thebes upon my return, at a town called Cnubis, which is named from the ſame god CNEPH, who is worſhipped at Syene, I met a ſplendid galley, which waited there for my reception to conduct me to PHARNUCES. When I had landed at the palace, which fronts to the water, he ſaluting me with his uſual civility

civility ſaid, you are returned, ORSAMES, very opportunely to ſee the ceremonies, that are performed at the cutting of the banks; and I ſhall accompany you myſelf part of your way, if you wont think it too great a delay to grace my parade. This year the river is riſen ſixteen cubits, which promiſes a plentiful increaſe. The next morning the galleys were early before the palace; and having taken a ſhort repoſe, we ſet out not long after ſun riſing. As ſoon as the oars touched the water, a concert ſtruck up of Perſian and Ægyptian muſic, and every thing contributed to make our paſſage delightful; the ſerenity of the air, the brightneſs of the morning, and the calm ſurface of the water reflecting the early beams*, and interſperſed with flowers of the Lotus, reſembling a bed of lilies. In every place that we ſtopped at, a black bull with much ceremony was ſacrificed to the Nile. We arrived the day after at Coptos, an † ancient emporium for Indian and Arabian commodities. The city ſtands a little removed from the Nile, but has its keys and warehouſes to the river. § Here ISIS, they ſay, received the firſt tidings of OSIRIS's death, and cut off a lock of her hair for grief, which gave occaſion to the city being called Coptos, implying in the Ægyptian language *Privation*. From this town they tranſport their merchandize by camels to the Portus Albus, for Arabia and the Indian iſles. Southward from which, along the ſhore of the Arabian gulf, are the famous mountains, where they dig for carbuncles.

* Herod. Euterp. c. 92. † Plin. L. V. c. 9.
§ Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

Below

Below Coptos on the oppoſite ſide ſtands This, the metropolis once of a very powerful dynaſty, but now comprehended in the lower Thebais. And here we could diſcern at a diſtance the ruins * of Abydos, one of the royal ſeats of MEMNON. Next is the town of VENUS and the city of the Crocodiles. Then on the eaſtern ſide Chemmis, which boaſts of PERSEUS's original: his temple is there encompaſſed in a grove of palm trees, with a ſtately portico of large maſſy columns of porphyrite; in which are two Coloſſean ſtatues, and the image of PERSEUS within †. The prieſts pretend, that the deity ſometimes manifeſts himſelf to them, which is always taken for a good omen, and forebodes great plenty to Ægypt. DANAUS and LYNCEUS, who went into Greece, were, they ſay, of Chemmis; and from them they reckon the deſcent of PERSEUS, who coming into Ægypt to bring thither the Gorgon's head out of Lybia, viſited that place, having been informed by his mother of his relation to it, and inſtituted there thoſe athletic games to her honour and his own, which were alſo celebrated in Greece; and the two Coloſſean ſtatues before the temple are his great progenitors DANAUS and LYNCEUS. The particular ceremonies, which I ſaw practiſed every where, would be tedious to relate, as the various diſcourſe our voyage furniſhed about the cauſes of the Nile's inundation. THALES the Mileſian, mentioned in one of your letters, who is remembered here with great veneration, accounted for it by the

* Strabo. † Herod. Eut. c. 91.

Eleſian

Eleſian winds blowing againſt the mouths of the Nile at this ſeaſon. But though that does not ſeem to be a ſufficient cauſe, ſince the ſame would probably then happen to other rivers, where the like winds are known to blow; yet whatever other cauſes may ſupply ſuch quantity of water, whether melted ſnow from the mountains of Æthiopia when the ſun comes over them, or great rains falling in remote countries, yet theſe winds may contribute to make the overflow more regular and laſting, as they are a balance to the waters, and prevent them from running off into the ſea, till they have ſufficiently fertilized the land. At the ancient city of Antæus I parted from PHARNUCES, who deſired, that one of his barges might attend me to Memphis; but as I could no longer enjoy the ſame agreeable company, I deſired to proceed the reſt of my journey in a more private manner. The moſt extraordinary part of the ceremonies I ſaw performed at Nilopolis, a city at the lower end of the iſland of the Heracleotic nome *. While the prieſts were ſacrificing to the Nile, we ſaw of a ſudden ſix youths in a ſtrange dreſs of a ſea-green colour advancing towards us, pretended to be juſt come up from a deep chaſm in the adyta of the temple. They joined in the ſolemnities, ſinging the praiſes of the Nile, and reciting the benefit, that their country received from the overflow of its waters; which was to them † their land and water, their lakes and ſea. Then the prieſts ſolemnly told us, that there their ſons were in their in-

* Videſis Serv. in Georg. L. IV. v. 364. ſpelunciſque lacus clauſos. † Achilles Tatius.

fancy

fancy delivered to the nymphs, and had been educated by them ever ſince, and bid them declare what they had learnt in thoſe ſubterranean abodes concerning the nature of the Nile. The youths, who were inſtructed in their anſwers, gave a fabulous account concerning the internal ſtructure of the earth, and deſcribed to us lakes and oceans, that are below the ſame, as above the ſurface; and the great rivers, that are loſt under-ground, and by hidden channels in the depths of the earth conveyed from place to place, till at length they riſe again in diſtant climates. And thus they affirmed, that they themſelves had ſeen * the Nile in a contrary hemiſphere, removed from ours by a whole diameter of the globe; and that the river loſing itſelf in a great gulf was carried thro' various ducts and windings within the vaſt abyſs, till at laſt it roſe again, and guſhed out at the two rocks by Syene, dividing its ſtreams from thence to Æthiopia and Ægypt. I conſidered this as a philoſophical conjecture of the prieſts, who are much puzzled themſelves about the ſource of the Nile, worked up with theſe fabulous circumſtances to diſguiſe their ignorance, and impoſe upon the vulgar. From Nilopolis I could diſcern the towers and obeliſcs of Memphis, and the ſummit of the temple of the ſun, which crowns this city, and ſtands conſpicuous above the other buildings, though Heliopolis and Memphis both are raiſed by artificial moles a great height above the waters. The mythological doctrines about the divinity of the Nile, which I have learnt among the prieſts of this college,

* Pompon. Mela, c. 10.

are no leſs ſtrange and confuſed, than thoſe about its origin juſt before-mentioned *. Nile they call OSIRIS, and the land ISIS, and the ſultry heat, which would deſtroy the fruits of the earth, unleſs the ſoil was fertilized by the inundation, they ſymbolize under the name of TYPHON. NEPTHE is the highlands, which the floods of the Nile ſeldom reach to, and is ſaid to be TYPHON's wife, becauſe they are commonly parched with heat. If the floods of the Nile happen at any time to reach theſe highlands, then there commonly grow ſome few water plants cauſed by the inundation, and theſe they reckon an uncommon product, and call them Anubis. And they hint all this in the following fable; they ſay OSIRIS begat of his wife ISIS a legitimate child called ORUS, and that he committed adultery with NEPTHE the wife of TYPHON, and had by her the baſtard ANUBIS. Thus I may call the religion of the prieſts in general a mythological collection or ſyſtem of ancient ſtories, poetically diſguiſed, and applied under different acceptations, to allegorize the ſeveral phænomena of nature. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LIV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THE Athenians are ſcarce recovered from the greateſt conſternation they have been in during the whole courſe of the war. Whilſt they enjoyed an ima-

* Plutar. de Iſid. & Oſir.

ginary

ginary ſecurity, and fancied, that the Peloponneſian allies were retired into winter quarters, an enterprize was formed, which had like to have proved their deſtruction, almoſt before they could perceive the blow was ſtruck. It was nothing leſs than a deſign to ſurprize the port Pyræeus, their great arſenal and harbour, which, by a ſtrange negligence, was unfurniſhed with gallies to meet an invader, or a chain to keep them from entering. The firſt circumſtance, which made them ſuſpect their danger, was an advice brought them, that a large body of marines was marched over land from Corinth to Niſæa, a port of the Megaræans, juſt oppoſite to the Pyræeus; and that forty gallies were ready to be launched there upon the firſt order. But as in popular aſſemblies, the multiplicity of opinions, that are ſtarted, tends rather to confound, than direct their counſels, they ſpent their time in debating what the deſign of the enemies ſhould be, when they ought to have been preparing to oppoſe it. The Peloponneſian fleet in the mean time, inſtead of ſailing towards the Pyræeus, according to their firſt ſcheme, turned off to Salamis, ſurprized a fort, took three guard ſhips, and waſted the iſland. This alteration of their meaſures, whether occaſioned by a contrary wind, or ſome diſſentions among their generals, proved the ſafety of the Athenians, who being alarmed to the higheſt degree by the ſignals of danger made from Salamis, put a ſtrong garriſon in Pyræeus, and fitted out ſome gallies with all haſte, with which they ſailed to obſerve the motions of their enemies. The Peloponneſians being informed of thoſe preparations, and not think-

ing

ing themſelves ſtrong enough to venture an engagement, returned to Niſæa. Now the danger is paſt, the Athenians are buſily employed in ſhutting up the entrance of the harbour with a chain, and fitting out ſome ſhips to keep guard without.

The ſiege of Platæa is turned into a blockade; the Peloponneſians have drawn lines round the city, which are looked upon to be a very fine piece of fortification. They conſiſt of a double encloſure, one towards Platæa, to oppoſe the ſallies of the beſieged, and another towards the country, to prevent the Athenians from throwing in ſupplies. The diſtance between theſe incloſures, which is ſixteen foot, is taken up with towers, where the ſoldiers employed in the blockade are quartered. There is alſo a deep ditch filled with water, that is carried round the work.

Thou muſt already be informed of the war juſt broke out between PERDICCAS, King of Macedon, and SITALCES, King of Thrace, in which the Athenians are auxiliaries to the latter. Thou haſt probably received advice of it from the governors of the Helleſpont, and beſides it has no particular relation to the buſineſs of my employment here.

I am next, noble ſcribe, to open to thee an affair, which I enter upon with no ſmall reluctance, as well upon account of the perſon it concerns, whoſe fortunes, honour, and life will be nearly affected by what I ſhall lay before thee, as becauſe I am ſenſible, how unwilling the humanity of thy temper renders thee to reveal what muſt prejudice another, and how ſtrongly at the ſame time thy ſingular fidelity muſt be moved

at

at any act of treachery in thoſe, that approach the ſacred perſon of the king. To detain thee no longer in ſuſpence, I have diſcovered a treaſonable correſpondence of SACAS, the eunuch, chamberlain to the womens apartment, which I came to the knowledge of in the following manner. Upon PERICLES's death, the papers and letters relating to the public affairs, which he had in his poſſeſſion, were ordered by a decreee of the ſenate to be depoſited in the archives of the ſtate. I found means to obtain a ſight of them from the ſcribe of the aſſembly, in whoſe hands they were depoſited; and thou mayeſt imagine, how ſurprized I was, to diſcover amongſt them a correſpondence between PERICLES and SACAS, which begun the year after the peace made with CIMON, and continued ever ſince with little interruption. Thou canſt remember, that ſoon after that peace was ſigned, the Athenians ſent ambaſſadors to the Perſian court, who, as it appears from theſe letters, engaged this unfortunate eunuch in the intereſt of Athens. He makes ſtrong profeſſions in his letters, that nothing could have engaged him in the ſervice, but the remembrance of his Grecian extraction; for thou knoweſt he was ſtolen from the coaſt of Eubœa by Phœnician pirates, who infeſted the Ægean ſea. His letters chiefly turn upon the news and ordinary occurrences of the court; but there is no one point, which he inculcates more ſtrongly, than the advantages, which Greece may gain by exciting the Grecian provinces to revolt, and the facility of putting any ſuch project in execution. He repreſents, that to erect principalities in the heart of the

Perſian dominions, under the protection of the Grecian ſtates, would be the ſureſt barrier for the latter againſt any attempt of the former: that moſt of the governors would want very little encouragement to ſet up for themſelves, ſome conſcious of their own male-adminiſtration, others incited from motives of diſappointed ambition, or private injuries. That the people haraſſed out with taxes, and groaning under an oppreſſive government, would readily join in the revolt; eſpecially if fair offers of liberty and Grecian protection were laid before them. He names ARGESTES the late governor of Lydia, and MAZEUS the governor of Phrygia, as particularly inclined to revolt; that the latter he was well acquainted with, and knew that five hundred talents and a ſquadron of Athenian ſhips would at any time bring him into the field. In one of his letters, he uſes the following remarkable expreſſions: "When once the fire of ſedition is kindl'd, "and blown up into a flame, it will ſpread from one "province to another from the frontiers to the centre "of the empire. The Medes themſelves may perhaps "make a bold ſtruggle to recover the monarchy of "Aſia; for I do not ſay it without good foundation, "many of our ſatraps cannot forget, that the blood of "PHRAORTES and ASTYAGES runs in their veins." The traitor not contented with diſcloſing the counſels of Perſia, would involve the whole empire in blood and confuſion, and overturn the throne of the prince, by whoſe goodneſs his fortunes were rendered not only eaſy but ſplendid, and himſelf raiſed from a ſtate of ſervitude to a ſtation near the royal perſon. The execrable

execrable treaſon of SACAS, illuſtrious miniſter, ſhould be puniſhed with the moſt exemplary ſeverity, and tranſmitted down to our poſterity in the ſame ſtriking manner with the practices of ARTHMIUS of Zelis againſt Athens. That ſubtle emiſſary was ſent into Greece with large ſums of money to foment the diviſions of Athens and Sparta; but his intrigues being diſcovered, a brazen column was erected in the citadel of this city, and the following inſcription engraven upon it by a decree of the people:

"ARTHMIUS of Zelis, the ſon of PYTHONAX, is "declared infamous and accurſed, a public enemy of "Athens and her allies, for having brought the gold "of Media into Peloponneſus; and let all his poſterity "be involved in this execration."

P.

LETTER LV.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

I Engaged lately in converſation with an Athenian, on the ſubject of the extraordinary victories obtained by Greece over XERXES and his generals. Surely, ſaid I, there muſt be ſome ſecret enchantment in the ſound of liberty, which could inſpire a handful of men with reſolution enough to oppoſe, and even defeat the formidable millions of Aſia. A free people, anſwered he, will always borrow courage from deſpair. In that important juncture, the Grecians had nothing to expect but from their own valour, and every thing to fear from the power of their enemies. Inured from their infancy to

the toils of war, and the cultivation of a barren ſoil, they were eaſily enabled from a ſort of conſtitutional vigour, to overcome the effeminate voluptuaries of the Eaſt. Well educated in an honeſt ſimplicity of manners, they deſpiſed and bore up againſt the terrible menaces of oppreſſion. An undaunted greatneſs of mind is incompatible with ſervile reſtraint or timorous dependance, and the name of country cannot warm the hearts of thoſe who enjoy none. What reaſon has a ſlave to be prodigal of life? Does the event of a battle, deciſive to the intereſts of his lord, grow doubtful? Unconcerned for the iſſue of the day, he either ſurrenders to the enemy at diſcretion, or endeavours to fly from the danger. As he has no reputation to loſe, he conſiders that he has none to hope for. He is ſenſible, that he expoſes himſelf only for the ſecurity of a tyrant; nor can he expect thoſe rewards, which are the proper attendants on virtue. To ſuch an one, a change of governors ſeems abſolutely indifferent, nay, rather deſirable; ſince he may entertain thoughts of bettering his condition under a new maſter, from the impoſſibility that it can ever be altered for the worſe under any. But who is he, that can rightly be prodigal of life? It is the inhabitant of a commonwealth, one jealous of his fame and his freedom, and juſtly preferring death with honour to life with ignominy. As he is an happy man, the apprehenſion of a change alarms him; he prudently guards againſt the approach of it, and bravely defends his own and the public welfare in oppoſing it. He then becomes a benefactor to the ſtate, and the gratitude of the ſtate is his

his due; a gratitude unmixed with the baſe alloy of envy, and flowing from the hearts of his citizens. The ſubjects of the king of Perſia—Methinks, ſaid I interrupting him, I know your ſentiment before you utter it: but will not the munificence of the king of Perſia toward the vaſſals, who diſtinguiſh themſelves in his ſervice, make amends for liberty, and prove as ſtrong an inducement to the laudable exerciſe of valour? Beſides this, the awe of his power is a ſpur to action, no where to be found in a free republic. You are miſtaken, anſwered he; laws, as they are ſteady and uniform, command a more ſacred reverence than arbitrary power. The Greeks know what penalties they incur, in offending againſt the conſtitution of their country: the Aſiatics are in a precarious ſubjection to the humour of a maſter; and thoſe obey with pleaſure, but theſe with reluctance. It was not intended by providence, that the human race ſhould ſuffer itſelf to be loaded with the ſhackles of oppreſſion; and the tempers of a people muſt be long and painfully broken to it, before they can be able to bear it; for nature in this as well as other inſtances is apt to recoil ſtubbornly on the man who warps it. True valour is only the companion of liberty; hence is it, that the Grecians in the field of battle are animated by an eagerneſs to defend their deareſt poſſeſſions, which raiſes their courage in the very criſis when it is moſt wanted. The ſlaves of Perſia are preſſed on to fight by the iron rod of arbitrary chaſtiſement, which extinguiſhes every ſpark of their courage, while they are engaging in a ſcene of action that requires their utmoſt. In a word,

the fear of puniſhment can never maintain its ground againſt the generous enthuſiaſm of freedom; ſince it is not the power of a prince, which can force, but it is every man's zeal for his own preſervation, which muſt excite the efforts of valour. Lives there a Grecian inſenſible, that the intereſt of individuals is contained in that of the whole? No, and it is the ſenſe of this truth, which puts every individual on contributing to ſecure the whole. This principle, CLEANDER, is more extenſive in its influence, than the moſt powerful monarch of the earth; and the ſpirit of liberty will exert itſelf to defend the enjoyments of liberty. Here my Athenian ended, and I made no reply. The blood roſe into my countenance upon hearing his reproaches: I was vexed at his diſregard for the conſtitution of Perſia, but afraid to betray my peculiar attachment to it. I excuſed my confuſion however by telling him, that I had forgot ſome buſineſs, which was the cauſe of it, and appointed to give him another meeting. Forgive, deareſt HIPPIAS, the weakneſs of thy brother, if he was much troubled at the ſeverity of theſe reflections; yet why ſhould he blame their ſeverity, when alas! he had more reaſon to be troubled at the truth of them? Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LET-

LETTER LVI.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

THE next day I ſaw my friend again, and we reſumed the ſubject of liberty. If I miſtake not, ſaid I to him, you ſeemed to think, the laſt time I converſed with you, that a man of merit could never be ſure of his reward under a monarch; that he was in a precarious ſubjection, as you expreſſed it, to the humour of a maſter: but can any thing be more capricious than the favour of a popular ſtate? In Athens, let an honeſt citizen have done any extraordinary ſervice to day, he knows not but he may be baniſhed for it to morrow. And foraſmuch as the mind of a multitude is more flux and variable than the temper of a prudent prince, a dependance on the eſteem of the former muſt be much more uncertain, than a confidence in the goodneſs of the latter. Beſide, the jealouſies and particular intereſts of private perſons will frequently make a great impreſſion on the inclinations of a whole community. Is the military glory of THEMISTOCLES to be diſgraced, the political wiſdom of PERICLES deſpiſed, or the upright integrity of ARISTIDES reviled? The whimſical *many*, who weigh none of their reſolutions in the ſcale of reaſon, fall naturally in with the propoſition. Theſe admired miniſters are degraded, and exiled from their country. For what? To make room for the very dregs and refuſe of the people; to admit mere demagogues inſtead

of able politicians, and to exchange the true prudence and ſound eloquence of the one, for the ſhallow ſchemes and falſe oratory of the other. The law of oſtraciſm, anſwered he, which you would inſinuate to be ſo baneful to the Athenian intereſts, is a very excellent and wiſe inſtitution, and may be conſidered as a ſtrong bulwark to defend and protect the purity of a republican government. It is not lightly nor wantonly put in execution, ſince there muſt be at leaſt ſix thouſand citizens concurring to the puniſhment. Equality is the very life of a commonwealth; and you muſt allow, that by the maxims of a jealous ſtate ſome alarm may reaſonably be taken at ſuperior merit. A ſoul ſo elevated is thought incapable of moderation, and a deſire of glory ſo paſſionate is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from a dangerous ambition. The Athenians have always been deſirous of curbing thoſe, who have puſh'd themſelves too forward; of reducing them into the ſame rank with their countrymen, from which perhaps they were at firſt unavoidably advanced by the pre-eminence of their characters, or the neceſſity of the times. They remember the tyranny of PISISTRATUS and his ſons, who were formerly no more than plain citizens on a level with the reſt: they hold always in view the fate of Epheſus and other Grecian colonies: they bear in memory the aſpiring temper of PAUSANIAS in Lacedæmon, and how were it poſſible to divine, but that THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON and PERICLES, would embroil their city in diſſention, and treat it in the ſame manner. This kind of baniſhment hath nothing ſhameful or diſhonourable,

diſhonourable; it is not termed the puniſhment of iniquity, but is in fact the depreſſion of exalted power. It may be ſtiled a gentle mitigation of envy; for by fixing this diſgrace upon a ſupreme officer in the commonwealth, the ſting of malice can injure him no farther, and the arrows of hatred, which were pointed at him, loſe their force. It is a ſure method of quieting the minds of the people, and prevents them from proceeding to meaſures of more violence againſt the exile. He is ſuffered to enjoy his eſtate without forfeiture; he poſſeſſes the rights and privileges of a citizen, with hopes in the interim of being re-eſtabliſhed in authority. Thus thou mayſt obſerve, that a man is not at once diſcarded by this law from the protection of his country; none of the links which attach him to her intereſt are broken; he need not therefore reſort for ſuccour to the reſolutions of deſpair. Hence it is, that the perſons, whoſe names I have recited, never entered into any unjuſt confederacies againſt their native Athens, but on the contrary preſerved an unſhaken fidelity in its ſervice. Again, this cuſtom of oſtraciſm hath a further good conſequence, that it effectually ſecures us from civil war and bloodſhed. Are there ſeveral, who ſtruggle at the ſame time for ſuperiority? Do they endeavour to diſtract the commonwealth by different parties? There ſeems no way ſo effectual to deliver the conſtitution from deſtruction, as the ſending thoſe out of its boſom, who can lay no reſtraint on their ambition. Hence the frame of the republic is entire; for from the apprehenſion of this law, our conſiderable citizens apply all their abilities to increaſe the

the proſperity of the ſtate, inſtead of ſupporting their perſonal power; they ſtrive to aggrandize that, and their emulation is by this means converted to laudable purſuits. If the people take offence at their conduct, they are diſmiſſed for a term of years in the way already mentioned. They have time given them to reflect coolly on their raſhneſs, and inſtruct themſelves from the feeling leſſons of experience in the vanity of every competition, except that which every honeſt man ſhould engage in; I mean contending, who ſhall moſt contribute to the welfare of their country. Yes, replied I interrupting him, I underſtand what you mean. The enemies of a great man are pleaſed to honour the unworthy ends of their malice with the name of political wiſdom; and the people of Athens are ſo good as to indulge them in ſaying, they were afraid of his ambition, when in truth they were envious of his reputation. However, to do you juſtice, you have urged more on behalf of the law, than I ever yet heard, or than I believed the matter would bear. But I beſeech you, what ſuſpicion could you poſſibly entertain of THEMISTOCLES, who had done ſo much to ſave the common liberties of Greece; who is even thought to have poiſoned himſelf in the court of ARTAXERXES, becauſe he would not engage in any enterprize to the prejudice of his country? What umbrage could the generoſity of CIMON give to the Athenians, who ſeems to have been ſo ſtrongly touched with the principles of benevolence, that he would have ſcorned to raiſe his own power on the ruins of a free republic? And what could you fear from the ſanctity

of ARISTIDES, who adminiſtered the money of all Greece with that diſintereſtedneſs, which becomes a man intruſted with the treaſures of another; with that diligence, which one uſually exerciſes in the management of one's own affairs; who gained love and eſteem in that office, which is generally expoſed to odium? Happy Athens! that couldſt find a good man zealous in thy ſervice, after the baniſhment of ARISTIDES, with whom goodneſs itſelf was exiled! Surely when ſo many, and I may ſay, only virtuous miniſters have ſuffered by the law of oſtraciſm, it is high time to aboliſh this wretched tool of faction and ſedition. A tree may be judged of from the fruit that it produces, and a law may be known by the effects derived from it. Without doubt, interpoſed he, there is truth in what you ſay, but it is truth carried too far. No law can be made to ſuit every particular caſe. The legiſlator muſt conſult for that, which upon the whole is right. The wiſeſt inſtitutions are often attended with inconveniencies; and can you wonder, that the beſt law ſhould ſometimes be followed by the worſt miſchiefs? No, returned I with ſome warmth, no miſchiefs are to be wondered at in that ſtate, where a man's merit, inſtead of gaining him the love of his citizens, recommends him to nothing but diſgrace. Good heavens! can there be a ſurer ſign of univerſal frenzy in a commonwealth, than the puniſhing great virtues with a ſeverity only due to the baſeſt of vices; and rewarding high ſervices and nobleſt atchievements with ſuch black unthankfulneſs? Are ye not aſhamed to puniſh this crime by law, wherever it is found in private

vate perſons, and yet permit it to remain unpuniſhed in the public? Could your ſtate be tried by any other city, and called to an account for its uſage of theſe excellent patriots, your ſubtilties would ſtand you in no ſtead, nor could your orators invent an anſwer. At preſent indeed you are ſecure from the cenſure or reſentment of the illuſtrious ſhades, who were injured by your anceſtors. No murmurs of complaint are heard amongſt them; but notwithſtanding their tongues are ſilenced by the neceſſity of the grave, all ages and nations will agree to curſe the barefaced ingratitude of Athens. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

End of the Firſt Volume.

ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS.

Page 21. *Line* 7. *For* concenter'd, *read* center'd.

Page 29. *Line* 27. *Instead of* [And those impassable morasses, *&c.*] *read*, And those impassable morasses, which have overflooded the plains of Babylon, and spread over an unmeasurable tract of land, since the mounds of Pallacopas were blown up, upon CYRUS's turning the river into it, are a lasting, *&c.*

Page 42. *Line* 17. *For* particular, *read* political.

Page 72, *Line* 20. and *P.* 73. *L.* 1. *For* ARCHILOCUS, *read* ARCHILOCHUS.

Page 78. *Line* 2. *Dele from the words* [It was not] *to the words* [value upon. But] *inclusive.*

Page 82. *Line* 27. *Before the word* [Under] *insert the following sentence.* [It was her thirst after the endowments of the latter, that induced her to travel into the distant country of Judæa with infinite pomp and magnificence, to visit a king renowned for the greatness of his wisdom, the riches of his kingdom, and the prosperity of his reign. She proved him by hard questions, and discoursed with him on subjects of the most refined nature. His wisdom, his riches, his prosperity exceeded the reports of fame, and wrapt her in the deepest astonishment.

Ibid. Marginal note. For AGATHARGIDIS, *read* AGATHARCHIDIS.

Page 84. *Marginal note. For* κλεθέντες *read* κληθέντες.

Page 99. *last line. For* CRONUS, *read* CHRONUS.

Page 111. *Line* 6. *For* Diospolis, *read* Thebes.

Page

Page 125. *Inſert the marginal notes in the text.*'

Page 127. *Line* 21. *For* ALEXIKAKON, *read* ALEXIKAKOS.

Page 136. *Inſert the marginal note in the text.*

Page 143. *Line* 22. *For* 430 Olympiad, *read* 4th year of the 43d Olympiad.

Page 145. *Line* 25. *For* 70th Olympiad, *read* 4th year of the 70th Olympiad.

Page 193. *Line* 25. *For* [building and muſic, if not their invention, yet owe all their grace to them.] *read*, [building and muſic, owe, if not their invention, yet all their grace to them.